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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY;

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

HENRY ELLIS, F. R. S. Sec. S. A.

KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

SECOND SERIES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

32607

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

HARDING AND LEPARD, PALL-MALL EAST.

MDCCCXXVII.


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TO

HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY

KING GEORGE THE FOURTH,

THIS

SECOND SERIES OF LETTERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY

IS DEDICATED WITH ALL HUMILITY

BY

HIS MAJESTY'S MOST LOYAL,

AND DEVOTED SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

HENRY ELLIS.

British Museum.
April 23d. 1827.

PREFACE.

THE Object of the Letters here presented to the Reader has been explained in the Preface to the former Series.

It may be sufficient to add generally here, that the Combination of the Whole, exclusive of historical interest, affords a more complete Succession of Specimens of the English Language, during the Reigns to which the Letters relate, than will be found in any other Work.

In this Series, the Portions of History which are illustrated, except in one or two particular cases, differ entirely from those which received explanation in the former Volumes. New events are introduced; and new secrets of State unravelled.

In point of time, the Correspondence is brought lower: and in some of the Reigns, at periods in which

the Editor found a Scarcity of Letters, he has introduced in the smaller type CONTEMPORARY MEMOIRS. Relics of this description are always valued by the Historian; nor is the Editor inclined to think that the more general Reader will repent his pains, should he peruse GIOVANNI MICHELE'S *Report to the Doge and Senate of Venice upon his Return from England in* 1557, The *Official Account of the last Moments of* THE QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative of the* VENETIAN OFFER OF ASSISTANCE *to* KING CHARLES THE FIRST, or FATHER HUDDLESTON'S *Account* (hitherto concealed though printed) *of the Catholic Death-bed of* KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

The Editor has some little fear that he may be censured for spreading his Comments more diffusely in this, than upon the Letters of the former Series; but he trusts that in many instances he has developed Truth; and, it may be, no where with greater success than in his Observations upon the Life and Character of Thomas Cromwell, the Minister of Henry the Eighth, who in reality was neither an honest man, nor the grateful friend of Wolsey.

The Bringing of the SECOND SERIES *of these* LETTERS within the reach of Memory, is perhaps another step of boldness; but the Events and Characters dis-

cussed in them, are not likely to give pain to any one alive. To the DEPARTED STATESMAN we have a right to use the words which Innocent the Fourth dreamt he had heard from bishop Grosteste, "*Surge, miser, et veni ad judicium.*"

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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

LETTER I.

Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthin to the Prince of Wales, upon the breaking out of Owen Glyndowr's Rebellion.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 70. *Orig.*]

*** Leland, in his Itinerary, has given in few words the pedigree of Owen Glyndowr, with his relationship to King Henry the Seventh:

"Lluelin ap Jorwarth Droyndon, Prince of all Wales, had Grifith. Grifith had Lluelin. Lluelin had Catarine his heir. Catarine had Eleanor. Elcanor had Helene and Catarine. This Helene was mother to OWEN GLINDOURE. Catarine had Meredik. Meredik had Owen. Owen had Edmunde earl of Richmond and Gasper earl of Pembroke. Edmunde had HENRY THE SEVENTH."[a]

The time of the birth of Glyndowr is uncertain; some placing it in 1349, others in 1354. Holinshed says, "strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the nativity of this man; for the same night he was borne, all his father's horses in the stable were found to stand in blood up to their bellies."[b]

Walsingham tells us that Owen Glyndowr was bred in an English Inn of Court, that he was an esquire of the body to King Richard the Second,

[a] Lel. Itin. vol. v. fol. 46.
[b] Holinshed, p. 521. The original of this passage is in Walsingham.

and one of the few who remained in the suite of that Monarch when he was taken prisoner in Flint Castle. After Richard's death, Owen became for a short time esquire to the earl of Arundel. At this time he had retired to his estate in Wales, where his property lay contiguous to that of the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who claimed and unjustly seized a portion of it. Glyndowr petitioned the Parliament for redress; but Henry espousing the cause of Lord Grey, Owen was unsuccessful. Leland says, that upon this occasion the bishop of St. Asaph cautioned the Parliament not to despise Owen, lest the Welsh should rise; but the advice was treated with a sort of national contempt. [a]

Another act of treachery upon the part of the Lord Grey threw Owen into open revolt. He withheld the Letter of summons for Owen to attend the King in his Scottish expedition, till it was too late to join the rendezvous. Owen excused himself from the shortness of the notice; but the Lord Grey represented him as disobedient. The King went to Scotland, and Owen, who found he had incurred the king's displeasure, either arranged his plans, or joined in those which the Welsh had formed, for a rebellion.

Upon Henry's return, the Welsh were rising in arms; and Lord Grey, whose ancestors had received Ruthyn with a view to the protection of the frontier, was ordered to go against them. It seems to have been at this point of time that the Letter which immediately follows was penned. It was apparently written in the month of June, A.D. 1400. Lord Grey expresses himself strongly in it upon the difficulties of the task imposed upon him: but it is remarkable that he makes no personal mention of Owen Glyndowr: neither is Glyndowr named in Henry the Fourth's first Proclamation against the rebellion of the Welsh, dated Sept. 19, 1400. 1 Hen. IV. [b]

A Chronicle compiled by one of the Chaplains of King Henry the Fifth, of which two copies are preserved in the British Museum, [c] speaks of the Welsh as rising in arms, and afterwards choosing Glyndowr for their chief. This, it is probable, was the fact. The earl of Arundel, to whom Glyndowr had become an esquire, personally remained firm to the King. Glyndowr seems to have been chosen on account of his descent.

[a] "Anno D. 1400 factum est Parliamentum London. Ad hoc venit Audoenus de Glindor Wallicus, qui fuerat armiger comitis Arundel, conquerens quod dominus Gray de Ruthine quasdam terras suas in Wallia usurpavit: sed contra dominum Gray nil profecit. Episcopus de S. Asaph consuluit in Parlamento quod non omnino præfatum Audoenum contemnerent, ne forte Wallici insurgerent: at illi in Parlamento dixerunt *se de* SCURRIS NUDIPEDIBUS *non curare*." Lel. Collect. tom. i. p. 810. Henry the Fourth himself, in one of his Letters, speaks of the Welsh as "*de petit reputacion*."

[b] See Rymer, tom. viii. p. 159.

[c] MS. Reg. 13. C. I. and MS. Donat. 1776.

RIGHT heigh and myghty Prynce, my goode and gracious Lorde, I recomaund me to you as lowly as I kan or may with all my pouer hert, desiryng to hier goode and gracious tydynges of your worshipfull astate and welfare, which I prey to allmyghty God as goode mot thei be as ye in your gracious hert kan best deuyse un to the plesaunce of God and of you. And gracious Lorde pleseth hit un to your heigh astate to witte that I have resceyued our liege Lord es pryve seal with your oun worshipfull lettres to me sent, commaundyng me un to see, and to apees[a] the misgouernance and the riote wich ye heiren that is begunnen heer in the marches of North Wales. Pleseth unto your gracious lordshipe to witte that I have do my power, and woll doo fro day to day by our liege lord es comaundement and by youres, but my gracious Lorde, plese hit you to witte that ye with avise of our liege lord es counsaile most giffe me a moore pleyner commyssioun then I have yit, to taken hem in the Kynges grounde, other in the Erles ground of the March, other in the Erles of Arundele,[b] or in any lordes grounde of North Wales; and by the feith that I owe un to my ligeaunce I shall trewely do my power to do our liege lorde the Kynges commaundement and youres: but worshipfull and gracious Lorde ye most comaunden the kynges officers in every cuntree to do the same. Also, my gracious Lorde, ther been many

[a] appease.

[b] Castel Dinas Bran, in the neighbourhood of Glyndowrdy, was the fortress possessed by the Earl of Arundel in Denbighshire.

Officers, sume of our liege lord the kyng es lond, sume of the Erles of the Marche es lond, sume off the Erle es londe of Arundele, sume of Powise lond, sume of my lond, sume of other lord es londes heer aboute, that ben kynne un to this meignee that be rissen. And tyll ye putte thoo officers in better governance, this cuntre of North Wales shall nevere haue peese. And if ye hadde thó officers under your governance, thei koude ordeyn remedy, wherthrogh thei sholde be taken. And, gracious Lorde, plese hit you to witte that the day that the Kynges messager cam with the Kynges lettres and with youres to me, the strengest thiefe of Wales sent me a Lettre, which lettre I send to you, that ye mowe knowen his goode wyll and gouvernance, with a copie of an other lettre that I have send to hym agayn of an Answare. And also, gracious Lorde, I besech you lowely that ye wolde vouchsaufe to giffe feith and credence to a pour squyer of myn, Richard Donn, of that he shall enfourme you of by mowthe touchyng tydynges of this cuntree; and that ye wolde take to you our liege lordes counsaile and ordeyn other remedie for hem then we been of powere for to do, other elles trewely hitt woll be an unruely Cuntree within short tyme. My gracious Lorde I kan no more write at this tyme, but God that is our elder sovereigne gife you long lyve and well enduryng. Written at Ruthyn the xxiij day of June.

REGINALD DE GREY

Sr de Ruthyn.

If the Letter which is pasted at the back of Lord Grey's be that which he alludes to as written by "*the strongest thief in Wales*," that personage must have been Griffith ap David ap Griffith, one of Glyndowr's most strenuous partisans. His epistle, indeed, is of a barbarous character, and breathes more of savage warfare than of chivalry: but such was the general feature of Glyndowr's campaigns. The conclusion of this Letter will serve as a sufficient specimen. "And there as thou bearest upon us that we sholde ben in purpose to brenne and sleyen men and horses for thy sake, or for any of those enclinant to thee, or any of them that ben the King's trew liege men, We was never so mys avised to work again the King ne his laws, which if we did were high treason: but thou hast had false messages and false reporters of us touching this matter, and that shall be well known unto the King and all his Council. Furthermore, there as thou knowledgest by thine own lettre that thy men hath stolle our horses out of our Park, and thou recettour of them, we hope that thou and thy men shall have that ye have deserved. For us thinketh though John Welle hath done as thou aboven has certified, thinketh that that shold not be wroken toward us. 'But we hope we shall do the a privy thing; a rope, a ladder, and a ryng; high on gallows for to henge. And thus shall be your endyng: and he that made the be ther to helpyng: and we on our behalf shall be well willyng: for thy Lettre is knowledging. Written," &c.

In consonance with the same feeling, we have another Letter from Griffith ap David ap Griffith; the whole of which is here laid before the reader.

LETTER II.

Griffith ap David ap Griffith to Lord Grey of Ruthyn, in defiance of his power.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOPAT. F. III. fol. 72. *Orig.*]

Worschipfull Lord I recomande me to zou and to zour lordschip, and I wold pray zou hertli that ze wold her how the fals John Wele serued me, as al

men knoyn wel. I was under the protexion of Mered ap Owein, he sende to me be trety of my cosynes maester Edward and Edward ap Dauid, and askyt zyf I wold cum in and he wold gete me the Kings charter, and I schuld be maester forster and keyshat in Chirke is lond; and other thinges he behizt me the qwich he fulfullyt not. Afterward he askyt me qwether I wold go ouer see with hym, and he wold gete me my charter of the Kynge, and bringe me to hym sounde and saff, and I schuld haue wages as muche as any gentilman schuld haue that went with hym; and ouer this he seide befor the byschop of Seint Assaph, and befor my forsaede cosynes, that rather then I schuld fael he wold spene of his own godde xx. marke. Her apon I trust, and gete me ij. men, and bozt armery at all pees, and horses, and other araement, and come to Oswestre a nyzt befor or thei went; and on the morw ther after I send Piers Cambr the reseuor of Chirke is lond, thryes to him, for to tel him that I was redy. He saed that I schuld speke no word with him; and at the last he saed that he hade no wages for me; and that he hade al his retenev; but bade me go to S^r^. Ric. Kakin[a] to loke qwether he hade nede of me. With the qwych I had neuer ado nor no covenande made, for I wold a gon for no wages with hym ouer see, but for to haue my charter of the Kyng and sum leuying that I myzt dwel in pees and in rest. And this, as a wytnes of S^r^. Ric Lakyn and of Strange, I was

[a] *y.* Lakin; *as below.*

redy and wylly for to a gon with hym hedde he be truw. He come and saed priuely to S^r. Ric. and to Straunge (q^d. he) her is Gruffuth ap David ap Gruffuth in this town, and has no sauecondyt but in Chirke is lond; and ze mown take hym and ze wolle; and a gode frende come and told me this; and I hert this and trust me thens in al the haste that I myzt; and so I was begyllyd and deseyued of that fals wele as al men knoyn welle. And so I hade no leuyng worth, qnowth no werche, but take my leuyng as gode wolle ordeyn for. And as I herd ther ben taken ij horses of zour men that wern pyte in zour parke, thoo horsys I wod qwer thei ben; but for no hatered that I hade to zou or zour lordschip thei wern taken, but my men toke ham, and bozt ham of hem. And hit was told me that ze ben in purpos for to make zour men bran and sle in qwade soeuer cuntre that I be, and am sesened[a] in. With owten doute as mony men that ze sleu and as mony howsin that ze bran for my sake, as mony wol I bran and sle for zour sake; and doute not I wolle haue both bredde and ale of the best that is in zour lordschip. I can no more, but Gode kepe zour worschipfull astate in prosperite. Iwrettin in grete haste at the parke of Brinkiffe[b] the xj day of June.

From

GRUFFUTH AP DAVID AP GRUFFUTH.

[a] seiscined.

[b] Perhaps Brynkir near Penmorfa, in the parish of Dolbenman in Caernarvonshire, among the mountains.

The Chamberlain of Caernarvon appears, at this time, to have furnished the King's Council with a better outline of what was going on in Wales, than Lord Grey; though it is remarkable that, in the first instance, he likewise makes no mention by name of Owen Glyndowr. The original of the Paper of Intelligence which the chamberlain of Caernarvon communicated, is preserved in the same volume with the Letters: it shows too that the Welsh held some communication at this time with the Scotch.

"This is the Credence by mouth, that is to say howe John Salghall conestable of Harglagh certefied and warned by lettre to the Chamberleyn of Carnarvane howe that a gentell man of Walys that most knowe and pryneise was with Med ap Owyn in grete specialte, warned hym of an accorde made betwene the same Med and men of the Owt Yles and of Scotland, throgh lettres in and owt, as he enformed hym, that they sholden come a lond and aryve at Abermowth and Eve betwix this and midsommer neghst with her power; and that the same Med shold prively do warne his frendes to make hem redy with hors and harneys agayn the same tyme; for which warnyng the same gentell man dar noght passe the toun of Harglagh &c. And likest hit semeth to be soth be cause of the governance of the Walsh peple, for they selleth her catell, and byeth hem hors and harneys, and sume of hem stelleth hors, and sume robbeth hors, and purveyen hem of sadles, bowes, and arowes, and other harneys, &c. And recheles men of many divers cuntries voiden her groundes and her thrifty governance and assembled hem in dissolate places and wilde, and maken many divers congregaciones and meeynges pryvely, thogh her counsaile be holden yet secrete fro us, wherthrogh yong peple are the more wilde in governance." [a]

A Proclamation, dated May 28th, 1401, in the second of Henry the Fourth, names Glyndowr and other rebels as assembling in the Marches of Caermarthen.

Adventurers now flocked to join the standard of Glyndowr: Welsh labourers from every quarter of the kingdom, and Welsh scholars from the Universities. There is an original Paper on this latter circumstance, which fully corroborates the notice in the Rolls of Parliament. [b] This also is preserved in the same Volume. A copy of it will be acceptable, at least to the Welsh Antiquary:

"Howel Kethin bachiler of the lav, duellyng in Myghell Hall at Oxenford:

"Maister Morres Stove of the Collage of Excestre at Oxenford:

"Jev' Cloghith scoler, duellyng en Teusvikes In at Oxenford:

"Maister David Leget Brith, duellyng in Teusvikes In at Oxenford.

"John Lloid duelling in Cattestrete in Seint Marie entra . .

. "Johan Pole sais that Howel Kethin forsaide schuld have counseilled

[a] MS. Cotton. Cleop. F. III. fol. 119 b.

[b] Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. IV. 1400—1401. tom. iii. p. 457.

Griff. ap. Jen' sckaier, that duelled undir Breythin, to go till Owein and duell with him, and for to become his mon. Also he sais that Maister Morees Stove was with Owein this somer last ypast. Also he sais that Owein send after Maister David Leget be him, that he schuld com till hym and be his man. Also he sais that Griff. ap Jevan forsaid told him that John Lloid assured him be his trowth that he schuld com to hym in to Wales for to be com Oweins man.

"I mong all othir things he confessed that he was y send be Owein for these clerks forsaide in to Englond, for to bryng hem to him in to Wales.

"Also he sais that Jankyn Tyby of the North country bringthe lettres owte of the Northe contre to Owein as thei demed from Henr. son Percy." [a]

THE subsequent history of Lord Grey of Ruthyn may be here glanced at. His capture by Glyndowr, his imprisonment, and his ransom, are matters of general History known to most readers; though the circumstances of his capture are differently told. Some, both Welsh and English writers, affirm that a marriage with one of the daughters of Glyndowr was a principal condition of his liberty. [b] This statement is perhaps untrue. [c] It would be remarkable indeed if both Glyndowr's prisoners had married his daughters: for the same is related of Sir Edmund Mortimer. [d] Nor did Lord Grey of Ruthyn die, as has been also stated, in confinement with Glyndowr: [e] for he served King Henry the Fifth both in his wars in France and with his fleet, and lived to the 19th of Henry the Sixth. [f] The largeness of his ransom, however, crippled his means as a baron of the realm: this is expressly stated by Hardyng in the unpublished Manuscript of his Chronicle which he presented to King Henry the Sixth:

"Soone after was the same Lord Gray in feelde
Fyghtyng taken and holden prisoner
By Owayne, so that hym in prison helde
Tyll his raunson was made and fynaunce cler
Ten thousonde marke, and fully payed wer,
For whiche he was *so pore than all his lyfe,*
That no power he had to werr ne stryfe."

[a] Cleop. F. iii. fol. 54. b.

[b] So Fabyan, edit. 1811. p. 570. Lel. Collect. tom. i. p. 485, from an old Chronicle. Rapin, Hist. Engl. edit. 1732. vol. i. p. 491.

[c] Dugdale in his Baronage. vol. i. p. 717. gives him two wives, without naming the daughter of Glyndowr. "This Reginald," he says, "had two wives; viz. Margaret the daughter of William Lord Ros, and Joane daughter and heir to William Lord Astley." Had Lord Grey married a daughter of Glyndowr, he would hardly have been called upon for a ransom. Such an alliance could only have had identity of interest for its motive.

[d] Vita Ric. II. per Mon. Evesh, A. D. 1402. "Eodem anno dominus Edmundus Mortimer, circa festum S. Andreæ Apostoli, filiam prædicti Owyni Glyndore desponsavit maxima cum solennitate."

[e] See Fabyan, p. 570. Hall, last edit. p. 23. Thomas's Memoirs of Owen Glendower, 8vo. Haverfordw. 1822. p. 86.

[f] Dugd. Bar. tom. i. p. 717.

LETTER III.

The Prince, afterwards King Henry the Fifth, to the Keepers of the Marches of Wales, upon his burning the two Residences of Owen Glyndowr.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 117 b. *Orig.*]

*** That Henry the Fifth, when Prince, was deeply engaged in the war with Wales, is a fact well known to History:[a] but that he went in person, at the very opening of it, to Glyndowrdy is new. We have here his own account of the expedition.

Internal evidence fixes the date of this Letter to the year 1401 or 1402. Henry the Fourth, in the month of July in the latter year, made the first of his three expeditions against the Welsh;[b] and the advanced attack appears to have been made by his son.

The Prince informs the Keepers of the Marches of Wales, of Glyndowr's intended inroads into England; that hearing of his vaunts, that "*he wished to come to battle with the English*," he had sought him in his home; and had burnt both his Residences, his "principal mansion" at SAGHERN, and his other at GLYNDOWRDY.

Saghern was, no doubt, the same place which the Welsh bards called SYCHARTH, the description of which by Jolo Goch, one of Glyndowr's bards, Pennant has quoted as a description of Glyndowrdy.[c]

Leland says, that "Owen Glindour had a place in Yale, upon the North side of De, caullid RAGARTH, five mile above Dinas Brane:" this was probably the place which is called *Saghern* in the Prince's Letter.

The traces of Glyndowrdy, in 1778, disappointed Pennant, who found the vestiges of the House small. The moat was very apparent; but the measurement of the area inclosed, was no more than forty-six paces by twenty-six. A note in the last edition of Pennant's Tour says, many of the vestiges have been since ploughed up, or otherwise destroyed. The Vale called Glyn-Dwrdwy, or the Valley of the Dee, extends about seven miles.

[a] Th. Elmham Vita Henrici V. ed. Hearne, p. 8.

[b] A. D. M.CCCC.II. "Rex Angliæ ante festum Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, collectis exercitibus, profectus est in Walliam ad persequendum Owenum de Glendor, sed nihil profuit tantus armorum strepitus, cum Wallicus in nota latibula se recepit, quin potiùs (ut putatur) arte magica, regem penè perdidit cum exercitu quam ducebat, per pluvias, nives, et grandines (ut creditur) arte diabolica concitatas." T. Walsingh. Hist. edit. 1574. p. 407.

[c] Tour in Wales.

Depar le Prince

TRESCHIERS et tresentierment bien amez, Nous vous salvons tressouvent de notre entier cuer, en vous merciant treschierement de la bone consideracion quele vous avez a la bosoignes que nous touchent en notre absence; et vous prions treseffectuousement de votre bone et amyable continuance, come notre fiance est en vous. Et endroit des nouvelx par decea, si vous vuillez savóir, entre autres, nous estions nadegaires enfourmez que Oweyn de Glyndourdy fist assembler son pouair d'autres rebelx de ses adherentz a grand nombre, purposant pur chivachier, et aussi combatre si gens Englois lui voudroient resister de son purpos, et ainsi il se avantoit a ses gens; per quoy nous prismes nos gens et alasmes a une place du dit Oweyn, bien edifie, que feu son principale mansion appelle Saghern, la ou nous supposasmes de lui avoir trove sil voussit avoir combatu en manere come il disoit; et a notre venue illoeques, nous ne trovasmes nul home, einz nous fismes ardre toute la

Translation.

Very dear and entirely well beloved, we greet you much from our whole heart, thanking you very dearly for the attention you have paid to every thing needful that concerned us during our absence; and we pray of you very earnestly the continuance of your good and kind disposition, as our trust is in you. By way of news that have here occurred, if you wish to hear of them, we have among other matters been lately informed that Oweyn de Glyndourdy has assembled his forces, and those of other rebels adhering to him, in great number, purposing to commit inroads, and in case of any resistance being made to him by the English, to come to battle with them, for so he vaunted to his people: wherefore we took our forces and marched to a place of the said Oweyn, well-built, which was his principal mansion, called Saghern, where we thought we should have found him, if he had an inclination to fight in the manner he had said; but on our arrival there, we found nobody; and therefore caused the whole place to be burnt, and several other houses near it belonging to his tenants. We thence marched

place, et plusieurs autres maisons la entour de ses tenantz. Et puis nous enalasmes droit a son autre place de Glyndourdy, pur lui querer illoeques, et la nous fismes ardre un beau logge en son parc, et toute la paiis la entour. Et nous nous loggeasmes la delies toute ce noet, et certainz de noz gens isserent illoeques en la paiis, et pristerent un grand gentil de la paiis qi feu un des chiefteyns du dit Oweyn, li quel offrist cynk centz livres pur son ranson pur avoir eu sa vie, et d'avoir paie la dit somme dedeinz deux semaignes; nepurquant ce ne feu accepte, mes il avoit la mort; et diverses autres de ses compaignons que furent prisez en la dit journee avoient le mesme. Et puis ce nous enalasmes en le Commote Dedirnyon en . . . de Merionnyth et illoeques nous fismes ardre une beau paiis et bien enhabite; et dilloeques nous enalasmes en Powys, et . . . . . setee de vitail por chivaux en Gales, nous fismes noz gens carier aveignes ove eulx, et nous hostasmes per . . . urs. Et pour vous enfourmer plus au plein de ceste journee, et de touz autres nouvelx

Translation.

straight to his other place of Glyndowrdy, to seek for him there, and we caused a fine lodge in his Park to be destroyed by fire, and laid waste all the country around. We there halted all the night, and certain of our people sallied forth into the country, and took a gentleman of the neighbourhood who was one of the said Oweyn's chieftains. This person offered five hundred pounds for his ransom, to preserve his life, and to be allowed two weeks for the purpose of raising that sum of money; but the offer was not accepted, and he received death, as did several of his companions who were taken the same day. We then proceeded to the Commote of Edeyrnion in Merionethshire, and there laid waste a fine and populous country; thence we went to Powys, and there being a want of provender in Wales for horses, we made our people carry oats with them, and pursued our march. And in order to give you full intelligence of this march of ours, and of every thing that has occurred here, we

par decea de present, nous envoions pardevers notre treschier escuier John de Waterton, a qi vuillez adjouster ferme foye et credence en ce qil vous reportera de notre part touchant les nouvelx desuisdites. Et notre Seigneur vous ait toudys en sa sante garde. Donne soubz notre signet, a Shrouesbury le xv. jour de May.

Translation.

send to you our well beloved esquire John de Waterton, to whom you will be pleased to give entire faith and credence in what he shall report to you touching the events above mentioned. And may Our Lord have you always in his holy keeping. Given under our Seal at Shrewsbury the 15th day of May.

LETTER IV.

The Constable of Dynevor Castle, entreating for assistance against Owen Glyndowr.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 111. *Orig.*]

*** This and the succeeding Letter seem to have been addressed to the Receiver of Brecknock; and by him communicated to the King's Council.

The First gives us no exalted notion of the Constable's courage. "A siege is ordained at the Castle that I keep, and that is great peril for me." "Y writ in haste and in dread."

From the Second we gain more important information. It acquaints us of the extent of force with which Glyndowr moved in his inroads. When assailing Dynevor Castle, according to the calculation of his own adherents, he mustered eight thousand and twelve score spears, "such as they were."

The Welsh Castles, it must be observed, at this period, were not extensively garrisoned. There is a Paper in old French, in the Volume from which these Letters are taken, of the very time of Glyndowr's rebellion, which furnishes in few words the actual state of many of them.

At Conway, John de Mascy was constable of the Castle: he had fifteen men at arms and sixty archers with him: 39*s.* 2*d.* were allowed to maintain this fortress per day, amounting in the year to £714. 15*s.* 10*d.* Caernarvon had John Bolde for its constable, with twenty men at arms and eighty archers: the annual maintenance amounted to £900. 6*s.* 8*d.* Crukkith Castle had Roger de Accon for constable, with six men at arms and fifty archers: annual maintenance £416. 14*s.* 2*d.* Hardelagh had Dycon le Mascy for constable, with ten men at arms and thirty archers: yearly maintenance £389. 6*s.* 8*d.* These were the Castles in North Wales belonging to the Prince; the total of their charges amounting to £2421. 3*s.* 4*d.* Denbigh Castle belonged to the Earl of March, and had been granted to Henry Percy: Beaumaris also belonged to Henry Percy, with the Isle of Anglesea. Of these Castles, Monsr. de Rutland, with thirty men at arms and a hundred and twenty archers, kept Denbigh, at an annual expense of £1672. 18*s.* 4*d.*: John de Pulle, with fifteen men at arms and a hundred and forty archers, kept Beaumaris, at the yearly expense of £988. 10*s.* 10*d.* The Castles which belonged to the Prince as Chamberlain of Chester were Rudhlan and Flint. Of Rudhlan Henry de Conewey was constable, who kept it with nine men at arms and forty archers, at an expense of £422. 15*s.* 10*d.* Of Flint, Nicholas Hauberk was constable, with four men at arms and twelve archers: expense £146 per annum.[a]

In none of these Castles was there such a force as could at any time venture upon a sally.

Dure frende i do zow to wetyn that Oweyn Glyndour, Henri Don, Res Duy,[b] Res ap Gr. ap Llewellyn, Res Gethin, han ywon the town of Kermerdyn, and Wygmor constable of the Castell hadd yzeld op the Castell of Kermerdyn to Oweyn; and han ybrend the Town, and yslay of men of town mor than l. men; and thei budd yn[c] purpos to Kedweli; and a Seche[d] ys y ordeynyd at the Castell that i kepe, and that ys

[a] MS. Cotton. Cleop. F. III. fol. 125.

[b] The execution of "Rice ap Die," probably the same person, in the 11th Hen. IV. will be hereafter mentioned. See the note in p. 44.

[c] be in. [d] Siege.

gret peril for me, and al that buth wydde ine; for thai han y mad har[a] avow that thei well al gat haue owss[b] dede th[r]yn. Wher for I prei zow that ze nul not bugil[c] ous,[b] that ze send to ous[b] warning wyth yn schort time whether schull we have eny help or no; and bot ther bn[d] help comig[e] that we have an answer, that we may come bi nizt and stell away to Brechnoc; cause that we faylyth vitels and men, and namlich men. Also Jenkyn ap Ll. hath y zeld op the Castell of Emlyn wyth fru wyll; and al so William Gwyn, Thomas ap David ap Gruff' and moni gentils bun[f] yn person wyth Oweyn. Warning erof I prei that ze send me bi the berer of thus[g] letter. Farydd well yn the nam of the Trinite. Y wryt at Dynevour, yn hast and yn dred, yn the fest of Seint Thomas the Martir.

JANKYN HANARD

Constable de Dynevour.

LETTER V.

Second Letter from the Constable of Dynevor Castle.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 123 b. *Orig.*]

DURE frynd, y do zou to wytyng that Oweyn was in porpos to Kedewelly, and the Baron of Carewe was that

[a] their. [b] us. [c] boggle? [d] been.
[e] coming. [f] been. [g] this.

day comyng wyth a gret rètenu to ward Seint Cler, and so Oweyn changed is purpos and rode to zens[a] the Baron; and that nyzt a logged hym at Seint Cler and destruid al the Contre about. And a tysday they weryn at Tretys al day; and that nyzt he logged hym at the town of Locharn, sex myles out of the town of Kermerdyn; thys purpos ys zef so that the Baron and he a cordyth in tretys, than a tornyth a zein to Kermerdin for hys part of the gòdes, and Res Duy is[b] part; and mony of thes gret maistres stont[c] zet in the Castell of Kermerdyn, for they havenot y made her[d] ordinance whether the Castell and the Town schall be brend or no, and ther for, zef ther is eny help comyng, hast hem with al haste toward ous for they mowe have godes and fytelles plente, for everych hous is full aboute ous of her pultre, and zet[e] wyn and hony ynow in the Contre, and whet and ben, and al maner vitelles. And we of the Castell of Dunevor had tretys of ham Monday, Tywsday, and Wendysday, and now a woll ordeyn for ous to have that Castell for ther a castyth to ben y serkled thince, for that was the chef plas in old tyme. And Oweyn ys moster a Monday was, as they seyyn hem selvyn, viij. Mill. and xij[xx]. spers, such as they wer. Other tidyng y not now, bot God of Hevene sene[f] zow and ous from al enemyes. Y wrytyn at Dynevor this Wednesday in hast.

[a] against. [b] his. [c] stop. [d] their. [e] yet. [f] sẽnd.

LETTER VI.

Richard Kyngeston, archdeacon of Hereford, to King Henry the Fourth.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 121 b. *Orig.*]

*** The reader has now a Letter before him, partly in French and partly in English, from Richard Kyngeston, archdeacon of Hereford. From another Letter in the Collection, which is also partly in French and partly in English, it appears that he was likewise Dean of St. George's Chapel at Windsor; though he is not usually recorded as such in the Lists of Deans. His eagerness for the arrival of the King in Wales by forced marches, is expressed in his postscript, with an earnestness which is almost ludicrous. According to Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, he ceased to be archdeacon of Hereford, by resignation, in 1404.

From the words "en votre comencement" in this Letter, it is clear that it must have been written at an early period of the Welsh war.

NOTRE tresredoute et soverein Seigneur le Roy, je me recomande humblement a votre hautesse come votre petite creature et continuel oratour. Et notre tresredoute et soverein Seigneur le Roy, vous plese a savoir qe de jour en autre y vienent Lettres de Gales contenantz Lettre illeoques par queles vous p'rez entendre qe toute la pais est perdu sy vous ne venez le plus

Translation.

Our most redoubted and sovereign Lord the King, I recommend myself humbly to your Highness as your lowly creature and continual orator. And our most redoubted and sovereign Lord, please you to know that from day to day Letters are arriving from Wales, containing intelligence by which you may learn that the whole country

hastifment. Sur quoy vous plese vous taillor devers noz parties ave toute le poer qe vous poez enchivachant si bien de noet come de jour pour salvacion des parties. Et vous plese a savoir qe il est graunt vergoigne, si bien come per de qe vous perderez ou suffrez estre perduz le pais, en votre comencement, qe voz nobles auncestres ount gaignez, et pour sy longe temps peisiblement tenuz; car les gentz parlont tresmalvaisement. Et j'envoie a votre noblesse la copie d'une Lettre qu'est venuz de John Skydmore ycest matin. Notre tresredoute et soverein Seigneur le Roy, je pry a luy toutpuissant qil vous ottroie tresbonne vie et sainte, oue victoire de voz enemys. Escr. en grant haste haste a Herford le viij^e^. jour de Juyll.[a]

Votre petite creature

RICHARD KYNGESTON

Ercedeakne de Herford.

Translation.

is lost, if you do not go there as quick as possible. For which reason may it please you to prepare to set out with all the power you can muster, and march day and night for the salvation of those parts. And may it please you to reflect that it will be a great disgrace as well as loss, to lose or suffer to be lost, in the beginning of your reign, a country which your noble ancestors have won, and for so long a time peaceably possessed. For people talk very unfavourably. And I send to your Highness the copy of a Letter which came from John Scudamore this morning. Our most redoubted and sovereign lord the King, I pray to the Almighty that he may grant you a happy and holy life, with victory over your enemies. Written in haste, great haste, at Hereford, the 8th day of July.

Your lowly creature,

RICHARD KYNGESTON,

Archdeacon of Hereford.

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[a] The other Letter, mentioned in the Introduction to this, finishes in a similar manner: "Escript a Hereford en g. tresgrant haste a trois de la clocke apres noone le tierce jour de Septembre"—"Treste ze nought to no Lieutenaunt."

And for Godes love, my lyge Lord, thinkith on zour self and zoure astat, or bemy[a] trowthe all is lost elles; but and ze come zoure self with haste all other wolle folwin aftir. And ot[b] on Fryday last Kermerdyn town is taken and brent, and the Castell zolden[c] be Ro. Wygmor, and the Castell Emelyn is y zoldin;[c] and slayn of the toune of Kermerdyn mo thanne l. persones. Writen in ryght gret haste on Sunday; and y crye zow mercy and putte me in zoure hye grace that y write so schortly; for, be my trowthe that y owe to zow, it is needfull.

LETTER VII.

John Skydmore, to John Fairforde Receiver of Brecknock.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 120. *Orig.*]

WORSCHIPFUL SIR, y recomand me to yow; and for as meche as y may nouzt spare no man from this place awey fro me, to certefie neyther the King ne my lord the Prynce of the myschefs of this[d] Countrees abouute,[e] ne no man may pas by no wey hennes, y pray yow and requere yow that ye certefie hem[f] how al

[a] by my. [b] *qu.* note. [c] yielded.
[d] these. [e] about. [f] them.

Kermerdyn schire, Kedewely, Carnwaltham, and Yskenyn ben sworyn to Oweyn yesterday, and he lay to nyzt was yn the Castel of Drosselan, with Rees ap Gruffuth; and ther y was and spake with hym upon truys, and prayed of a saufconduyt[a] under his seal to send home my wif and hir moder and thair mayne,[b] but he wolde none graunte me; and on this day he is aboute the towne of Kermerdyn, and ther thenkith to abide til he may have the Towne and the Castel; and his purpos ys from thennes into Penbroke schire, for he halt[c] hym siker[d] of al the Castell and Townes in Kedewelly, Gowerslonde, and Glamorgan, for the same cuntrees have undertake the seges of hem til thei ben wonnen. Wherfore wryteth to Sir Hugh Waterton, and to all thilke that ye suppose wol take this mater to hert, that thei exite the Kyng hederwardes in al hast to vengen hym on summe of his false traytors the wheche he hath overmeche chereyschid, and do rescowe the Townes and Casteles in these countres for y drede fulsore[e] ther be to fewe trewe men in hem. Y can no more as nowe; but pray God help yow and us that thenken to be trewe. Written at the Castel of Carreckeñen[f] the v. day of Juil.

Yowres

JOHN SKYDMORE.

To John Fairforde,
Rescevor of Brekenok.

[a] safe conduct. [b] company, train. [c] holds.
[d] sure. [e] full sore. [f] Carreg Cennen.

LETTER VIII.

The Mayor and Burgesses of Cairleon to those of Monmouth, upon the defeat of a part of Owen Glyndowr's Army by the Lord of Carew.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 116. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter is curious on two accounts. It acquaints us with the defeat of a portion of Glyndowr's forces by the baron of Carewe; a fact unknown to our Historians;[a] and it details a conference between Owen Glyndowr and one Hopkin ap Thomas, whom he held to be "master of Brut," as to what should be his fate hereafter. Master of Brut means skilled in the prophecies of Merlin, whose vaticinations form a part of the Brut of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Henry the Fourth and Glyndowr were both worked upon by ancient predictions; and each, it is probable, sought the type of the other in those numerous prophecies which our ancestors, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, were so fond of considering as in a state of progressive accomplishment.

By the parties who met at the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, Henry the Fourth was quoted as the moldewarpe accursed of God;[b] while Glyndowr, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, were represented as the dragon, the lion, and the wolf, which should divide the realm between them. Such, says Hall, was "the deviation, and not divination, of that mawmet Merlin." The sequel of Glyndowr's history shows that Hopkin ap Thomas of Gower was not infallible as a seer.

The baron of Carewe mentioned in this Letter must have been Nicholas Carewe of Carewe Castle in Pembrokeshire.

Fenton, in his History of that County, p. 249, says that Carew was one of the royal demesnes belonging to the Princes of South Wales, and with seven others was given as a dowry with Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap

[a] A defeat of Glyndowr by the lord of Powys is mentioned in a Letter of Sir Henry Percy to some bishop, dated from Denbigh, June 4th, without year. MS. Cotton. Cleop. F. III. fol. 27. Sir Henry had made an expedition to "Catheridrys." He had then not announced his defection.

[b] "TALPA, *ore Dei maledicta*, superba, misera, et turbida."

Tewdar, to Gerald de Windsor, who was appointed lieutenant of those parts by Henry the First, on the outlawry of Arnulph de Montgomery. His eldest son William succeeded him in the possession of this Castle as lord thereof, whose son Odo gave Redbard, near Carew, to the Knights of St. John at Slebeck. His son William was the first who took the name of Carew, whose descendants for many generations enjoyed it, till Sir Edmond Carew mortgaged it to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, to enable him to go on the expedition to Therouenne, where he was killed by a cannon ball. The estate was again granted in fee by King Charles the First to Sir John Carew, a descendant.

GRETYNG to yow our gode frendes and worschipful burgeis of Monemouthe, we do yow to understonde of tydynges the weche we have yherd of Owein Glyndor, that is to wete of Lettres under seel the wheche were y sende to us by the Capteyne of the towne of Kadewelly; and in the Lettres wer y wrete words that ther was a day of batell ytake by twyxt the worthy Baron of Carewe and Owein Glyndor; and we do yow to understonde that thys day of bataill schuld have be do the xii. day of Jule; and the nyzt be fore that thys bataill schulde be do, Oweyne wes y purpos to have yvoidede ym to the Hull azeinward; and for he wold y wete whar his wey wer clere y nowe to passe, zyf he hede nede, to the Hull, he sende vii. C. of his meine[a] to serche the weyes, and thes vii. C. menne went to serche thys weyes, and ther thys vij. C. menne were y mette with the barons menne of Carew, and I slay up everychone that ther was nozt on that sc . . . .alyve; and thes words buth[b] y do us to understonde

[a] many. [b] be.

that it is sothe with owte lesyng. And fforthermor we do yow to understonde that Oweine the . . . . . es in the ton[a] of Kairm'then hè sende after Hopkyn ap Thomas of Gower to come and speke with hym upon trewes; [b] and when Hopkyn come to Owein, he pïede[c] hym, in as meche as he huld hym maister of Brut, that he schuld do hym to understonde how̃ and what maner hit schold be falle of hym; and he told hym wittliche that he schold be take with inne a bref tyme; and the takyng schold be twene Kayrmerthen and Gower; and the takyng schold be under a blak baner: knowelichyd that thys blake baner scholde dessese hym, and nozt that he schold be take undir hym. No more con[d] we say to yow at thys tyme, bote buth[e] glad and mery, and drede yow nozt for we hopethe to God that ze have no nede. And we do yow to understonde that al thys tydyngs buth[e] sothe with oute doute.

Per LE MAIRE & LES BURGEIS
de KAIRLYON.

[a] town. [b] truce. [c] prayed.
[d] can. [e] be.

LETTER IX.

Sir Edmund Mortimer to his Tenantry, announcing his coalition with Glyndowr.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 122 b. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter lends its aid to the correction of an error into which the greater part of our Historians have fallen from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.

Walsingham, Hall, Stowe, Dugdale in his Baronage, Rapin, Hume, and others, have uniformly represented Edmund Earl of March to have been taken prisoner by Owen Glyndowr, while, in fact, he was at that time of tender age and a prisoner to King Henry the Fourth. Pennant in his Tour in Wales, Coxe in his Monmouthshire, Malone in his Notes on Shakspeare, and Dr. Sayers in his Disquisitions, have all noticed the error.

The person opposed to, and captured by Glyndowr, was, in reality SIR *Edmund Mortimer*, the UNCLE of the Earl of March. The battle in which he was taken prisoner, was fought near Melienydd in Radnorshire,[a] June 12th, 1402. Henry the Fourth subsequently refused him permission to pay a ransom; the consequence of which was that he joined Glyndowr. The present Letter announces to his tenants his entrance into the league.

TRESCHIERS et bien amez vouz salue mielx souvent, et vous face a entendre que Oweyn Glyndor ad moeue une querelle la quelle est tielle, qe si le Roy Richard

Translation.

Very dear and well beloved, I greet you much, and make known to you that Owen Glyndowr has raised a quarrel, of which the object is, if King Richard be alive, to

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[a] Dugdale says, "upon the mountain called Brynglase, near Knighton in Melenyth." Bar. tom. i. p. 150.

soit en vie de luy restorer a sa coronne, et sinoun qe mon honore Neuewe q'est droit heir al dit coronne serroit Roy d'Engleterre, et qe le dit Oweyn avoreit son droit en Gales. Et je veiant et considerant qe la dite querelle est bone et reisonable ay assentee de outrement estaier en la dite querele, et l'aidere et mayntener, et par la grace de Dieu a bon fyn, Amen: Vous empant chierement de cuer qe vous voillez moy aider qe mon dit querele soit bonement achivee, et d'altre part voillez favoir qe les Seignories de Mellenyth, Werthrenon, Raydre, Comot de Vdor, Arwystly, Keveilloc, et Kereynon sont ore tarde venuz en nos mayns. Pourquoy vous unqore emp'e qe vous ne facez ascun journay a mes dites terres, ne nullez damages a mes ditz tenantz, et vous eux deliverez vitailles sur certeyn resonable p'ce come vous voillez qieo ferray a vous le mesme, et de cestes moy voillez mander response. Treschiers et biens ames Dieux vous doyve

Translation.

restore him to his Crown, and if not, that my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said Crown, shall be King of England, and that the said Owen will assert his right in Wales. And I, seeing and considering that the said quarrel is good and reasonable, have consented to join in it, and to aid and maintain it, and, by the grace of God, to a good end, Amen! I ardently hope, and from my heart, that you will support and enable me to bring this struggle of mine to a successful issue. I have moreover to inform you that the Lordships of Mellenyth, Werthrenon,[a] Ruydre,[b] the Commot of Udor,[c] Arwystly,[d] Keveilloc, and Kereynon, are lately come into our possession; wherefore I moreover entreat you that you will forbear making inroad into my said lands, or to do any damage to my said tenantry, and that you furnish them with provisions at a certain reasonable price as you would wish that I should treat you: and upon this point be pleased to send me an answer. Very dear and well be-

[a] Withereinton. [b] Raidrey. [c] Comothoyder. [d] Ewias Lacy?

grace de bien fair al comencement et vous amesne a bon fin. Escr. a Mellenyth le xiij. jour de Decembre.

ESMON MORTEMER.

A mes tresch. et biens ames Monsr. Johan Greyndor, Howell Vougan, et touts les gentielx et comunes de Raydenor et Preshemde.

Translation.

loved, God give you grace to prosper in your beginnings, and to arrive at a happy issue. Written at Mellenyth, the 13th day of December.

EDMUND MORTEMER.

To my very dear and well beloved M. John Greyndor, Howell Vaughan, and all the gentles and commons of Radnor and Preshemde.

THERE are two circumstances connected with this Letter particularly deserving of remark. One, that Sir Edmund Mortimer appears doubtful in it whether King Richard the Second was alive or dead. The other, that when speaking of the division of the Kingdom, he makes no mention of the share which was to fall to the Percies.

Opinion certainly wavered, at this time, as to Richard's positive fate; though conjectured, it was not known. There can be no doubt that the Proclamation of Henry the Fourth against the Inventors of false Reports, dated at Westminster, June 5th, in this very year, was intended to satisfy those who continued uncertain. It states that rumours had been hinted to the ears of the foolish that King Richard, his last predecessor, was still alive in Scotland, and that he was coming with the Scots to invade the realm; whereas, in truth, the said Richard was DEAD *and* BURIED: "quod dominus Ricardus nuper Rex Angliæ, ultimus predecessor noster, *adhuc vivit in Scotia,* quodque in manu forti, ac vexillo protenso, veniet una cum Scotis in dictum regnum nostrum, ipsum, et nos, ac ligeos nostros protinus invasurus, cum *in rei veritate præfatus* RICARDUS, sit MORTUUS et SEPULTUS."[a]

Upon the omission of the Percies, we have only to observe that Sir Edmund Mortimer's Letter is dated December the 14th, and that the tri-

[a] Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 261. Claus. 3 Hen. IV. p. 2, m. 13 d.

partite Indenture of Partition was not finally agreed upon till toward the middle of the next year. The negotiation for the partition of the Kingdom seems to have originated with Mortimer and Glyndowr only. The battle of Shrewsbury was fought on July 21st, 1403.

The Manuscript Chronicle already named, compiled by one of the chaplains to King Henry the Fifth,[a] gives the particulars of the final Treaty signed at the House of the archdeacon of Bangor more amply than they can be found elsewhere. The Severn, the Trent, and the Mersey, were to shut in Owen's territory; while the Percies were to have not only all that was North of Trent, but *Leicestershire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire*, and even NORFOLK. Sir Edmund Mortimer (not the nephew whom he speaks of in his Letter,) was to content himself with the remainder. The expectation declared in this Treaty that the contracting Parties would turn out to be the persons spoken of by Merlin, who were to divide the *Greater Britain*, as it is called, amongst them, corroborates the story told by Hall. The whole passage is here submitted to the reader's perusal: the words are evidently those of the Treaty.

"Hoc anno Comes Northumbriæ fecit legiam, et confederationem, et amicitiam cum Owino Glendor et Edmundo de Mortuo mari, filio quondam Edmundi Comitis Marchiæ, in certis articulis continentibus formam quæ sequitur et tenorem. Primo quod iidem domini, Owinus, Comes, et Edmundus, erunt amodo ad invicem conjuncti, confœderati, uniti, et ligati vinculo veri fœderis et veræ amicitiæ, certæque et bonæ unionis. Iterum quod quilibet ipsorum dominorum honorem et commodum alio volet et prosequetur, ac etiam procurabit dampnaque et gravamina quæ ad unius ipsorum notitiam devenerit, per quoscumque alicui ipsorum inferenda, impedient bona fide. Quilibet quoque ipsorum apud alium aget et faciet ea omnia et singula quæ per bonos, veros, et fidos amicos, bonis, veris, et fidis amicis agi et fieri debent et pertinent, fraude et dolo cessantibus quibuscumque. Item si et quotiens aliquis ipsorum dominorum sciverit vel cognoverit aliquid gravaminis sive dampni procurari sive ymaginari per quoscumque contra alium, ipse aliis, quam citius commode fieri poterit, ea significabit, et ipsos de et super hoc adjuvabit, ut adversus malicias hujusmodi, prout ei visum fuerit, sibi valeat providere. Solliciti quoque erunt quilibet ipsorum dominorum impedire dampna et gravamina prædicta bona fide. Item quilibet ipsorum dominorum in tempore necessitatis, prout decet, juxta posse, alium adjuvabit. Item si DISPONENTE DEO *apparent præfatis Dominis ex processu temporis*, quod ipsi sunt *cædem personæ de quibus Prophcta loquitur*, inter quos REGIMEN

[a] MS. Sloan. Brit. Mus. 1776. fol. 42 b. Another Copy of this Chronicle occurs MS. Reg. 13 C. I.

Britannlæ Majoris *dividi debeat et partiri*, tunc ipsi laborabunt et quilibet ipsorum laborabit, juxta posse, quod id ad effectum efficaciter perducatur. Quilibet quoque ipsorum contentus erit portione regni prædicti sibi ut infra scribitur limitata, absque ulteriori exactione seu superioritate quacunque, ymmo quilibet ipsorum in portione hujusmodi sibi limitata æquali libertate gaudebit. Item, inter eosdem Dominos unanimiter conventum et concordatum existit, quod præfatus Owinus et hæredes sui habeant totam Cambriam sive Walliam, sub finibus, limitibus, et bundis infrascriptis, a Leogrea quæ vulgariter Angliam nuncupatur, divisam; viz. a mari Sabrino sicut flumen Sabrinum ducit de mari, descendendo usque ad borialem portam civitatis Wigorniæ, et a porta illa directe usque ad arbores fraxineas in lingua Cambriensi sive Wallensi Ouuene Margion vulgariter nuncupatas, quæ in alta via de Brigenorth ad Kynvar ducente crescunt; deinde directe per altam viam, quæ vetus sive antiqua via vulgariter nuncupatur, usque ad caput sive ortum fluminis de Trent, deinde directe usque ad caput sive ad ortum fluminis Meuse vulgariter nuncupati, deinde, sicut illud flumen ad mare ducit, descendendo infra fines, limites, et bundas suprascriptas. Et præfatus Comes Northumbriæ habeat sibi et hæredibus suis comitatus infrascriptas, viz. Northumbr. Westmorland. Lancast. Ebor. Lincolniam, Notyngam, Derb. Stafford. Leycestr. Northampton, Warwic. et Norffolch. Et dominus Edmundus habeat totum residuum tocius Angliæ integre sibi et successoribus suis. Item quod pugna, riota, seu discordia inter duos dominorum ipsorum, quod absit, oriatur, tunc tertius ipsorum dominorum, convocato ad se bono et fideli consilio, discordiam, riotam, seu pugnam hujusmodi debite reformabit; cujus laudo sive sententiæ discordante hujusmodi obedire tenebuntur. Fideles quoque erunt ad defendendum regnum contra omnes homines, salvo juramento ex parte præfati domini Owini illustrissimo Principi domino Karolo Dei gratia Francorum Regi, in ligea et confederatione inter ipsos initis et factis præstito. Et ut prædicta omnia et singula bene et fideliter observentur, ipsi domini Owinus, Comes, et Edmundus, ad sacrum corpus dominicum quod perseverant jam contemplans et ad sancta Dei Evangelia per eosdem corporaliter tacta jurarunt præmissa, omnia et singula, sicut posse eorum, inviolabiliter observare, et sigilla sua alternatim præsentibus in testimonium apponi fecerunt."

The variance between the Percies and King Henry the Fourth, is represented by Hardyng to have originated in three causes: in their own refusal to give up certain prisoners of rank who had been taken at the battle of Homildon; in the King's refusal to let Sir Edmund Mortimer pay a ransom; and in an interview between Sir Henry Percy and

Glyndowr, which had excited the King's particular jealousy.[a] Speaking of Sir Henry Percy, Hardyng says,

"The Kyng hym blamed for hi toke not Owen,
When he came to him on his assuraunce;
And he aunswered then to the Kyng again,
He might not so kepe his affiaunce,
To shame hym self withe suche a variaunce.
The Kyng blamed hym for his prisoner
Th' Erle Douglas, for cause he was not there,

And saied he should hym fette but he hym sende.
Sir Henry sawe no grace for Mortimer
His wife's brother; he went away unkende
To Berwyk so, and after came no nere.
Afore thei mette at Shrowesbury in fere;
Wher then thei faught for cause of his entent,
He purposed had Mortimer his coronement."[b]

Leland, in his Collectanea, quotes a passage from another Chronice, which describes some more minute particulars of the opening of the quarrel between Sir Henry Percy and the King:

"Comes Northumbriæ petiit ab Henrico rege pecuniam sibi debitam pro custodia Marchiæ Scotiæ. Cui rex respondit, 'Aurum non habeo; aurum non habebis.' Venit similiter filius comitis, Henricus Percy, qui sororem Edmundi de Mortuo mari, captivi in Wallia, habebat in uxorem, rogans regem ut permitteret Edmundum redimi de proprio: cui Rex respondit 'quod cùm pecunia regni non fortificaret inimicos suos contra se.' Henricus Percy dixit, 'Debet homo sic se exponere periculo pro vobis et regno vestro, et non succurretis ei in periculo suo?' Et Rex iratus dixit, 'Tu es proditor. Vis ut succurram inimicis meis et regni?' Cui Henricus, 'Proditor non sum, sed fidelis; et ut fidelis loquor.' Rex traxit contra eum pugionem. 'Non hic,' dixit Henricus, '*sed in* CAMPO,' et recessit."[c]

[a] An early notice to the King's Council, of presumed intercourse between Hotspur and Glyndowr, has been already mentioned in p. 9.

[b] Hardyng's Chronicle, 4to. Lond. 1812, p. 360, 361.

[c] Lel. Collect. tom. i. p. 312. Ex Paralipom. sive Derelictis ab autore Eulogii.

LETTER X.

Henry of Scharisbrec, Lieütenant of Conway Castle, to William Venables of Kinderton Constable of Chester, and Roger Brescy.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 40 b. *Orig.*]

*** Henry Sharesbrok, Esq. occurs in the muster roll of the 3d of Henry the Fifth, as furnishing two horsemen beside himself in the expedition to France.

This and the four succeeding Letters were probably written about 1404. Stowe, under that year, says, "All the summer Owen Glendouerdew and his Welshmen rob, burne, and destroy the countries adjoyning unto them. He tooke many captives; and slew many Englishmen. He laid flat certain castles, and some he kept for his own defence." [a]

RYGHT worschipful Sirs I comand me to zow lawly, dissyryng euirmore to here of zoure worschipe, the whyche I pray to God euyrmore encrese. Worschepful Sirs if hit lyke zow to wete the abot[b] of Conway has send wort to some of the godmen[c] of the ton & to me, how that ther arne comyn vi Schippis owte of Fraunce in to Llene w[t] wyn & specery ful ladyn. Wherfore, worschepful Sirs, wold ze voche saue[d] to send word to my lord or to his cõnsayl therof, if thai wil oght ordayn for hom; for worschepful Sirs, vs thynke that and thay wer takyn hastyly hit wer grete profyt, in a gret abayschynge to oure enmyes. Worschepful Sirs, the

[a] Annales, p. 330. edit. 1631.
[b] abbat.
[c] good men.
[d] vouchsafe.

Holy Gost kepe zow in hon's. Wrytyn at Conwey the xxvj day of Feuyrzer.

Be HENR. OF SCHARISBREC
Leutenant to Sir John
of Bolde at Conway.

LETTER XI.

William Venables of Kinderton and Roger Brescy, to the King, upon the capture of the Constable of Harlech Castle.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 39 b. *Orig.*]

TRESEXCELLENT et tresredoute Seigneur liege, nous recomandons a votre Excellencie oue toutz maneres services et subjections. Et pleise a votre roial Magestee entendre que ycy lundy darrein passee a haut nuyt Roger de Bolton receivor de Denbiegh nous envoia parole par un vallet que le Conestable de Hardelagh en Northgales et deux valletz ovesque lui sont pris par les Gales et amesuez a Oweyn de Glyndour, et que le Chastell est en grand peril que Dieu pour sa

Translation.

Most excellent and dread sovereign Lord, We recommend ourselves to your Excellency in all manner of services and subjections. And may it please your Royal Majesty to be informed that on Monday last, in the dead of night, Roger de Bolton, receiver of Denbigh, sent us word, by a servant, that the Constable of Hardelagh in North Wales, and two servants with him, have been taken by the Welsh and carried to Owen de Glyndowr, and that the Castle is in great jeopardy, which God in

mercie la sauve. qar a ce qil nous ad certifie y ne sont paas deinz mesme le Chastell forsq, cynk hommes Engleys et bien entour xvj. hommes Gales. Paront pleise a vôtre treshaute Excellencie, par avis de votre tressage Conseil, eut ordeigner remedie tiel que pleiser soit a votre trespuissant Seigniorie. Et la hautisme Trinitee, notre tressouveraigne et tresredoute Seigneur liege, vous ottrois prosperitee et la victorie de touz voz enemys oue bone vie a long durer. Escr. a Cestr. le xv. jour de Janver.

Voz poueres lieges et subgitz,

WILLIAM VENABLES *de Kinderton*

& ROG. BRESCY.[a]

Translation.

his mercy avert; for according to what he states, there are in the Castle no more than five Englishmen and about sixteen Welshmen. Wherefore may it please your high Excellency, by the advice of your wise Council, to ordain such remedy as shall be most pleasing to your most puissant Lordship; and the high Trinity, our most sovereign and most redoubted liege Lord, grant you prosperity and victory over all your enemies, with a happy life long to continue. Written at Chester the 15th day of January.

Your humble lieges and subjects,

WILLIAM VENABLES *of Kinderton*,

and ROGER BRESCY.

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[a] WILLIAM VENABLES was the second son of Hugh baron of Kinderton. He was constable of Chester castle, and deputy-warden of the Marches of Wales. His elder brother Sir Richard Venables, baron of Kinderton, being wounded and taken prisoner was, with Sir Thomas Percy and several others, beheaded by King Henry the Fourth after the battle of Shrewsbury. See Walsingh. edit. 1672. p. 411.

Of the BRESCY family, an account will be found in Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire, vol. iii. p. 178.

LETTER XII.

William Venables and Roger Brescy to the King, upon the second Assault of Caernarvon Castle by Owen Glyndowr and the French.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 39 b. *Orig.*]

TRESPUISSANT et tresredoute Seigneur liege, nous nous recommandons a votre tressouvereigne Seigneur oue toutz maneres honeres et reverences. Et pleise a votre roial Magestee entendre que Robert Parys le puisne Conestable du Chastell de Caernarvan nous ad certifiee per un femme, a cause qil navoit homme ascun qi osa venir, ne homme ne femme null ose ascun lettre porter pour les rebelles Gales qe Oweyn de Glyndour ouesque les Fraunceys et tout son autre poair se taillent d'assailler les Ville et Chastell de Caernarvan, et a commencer le jour de la fesance dicestes ovec esgynes, sowes, et laddres de tresgrand longure, et ne sont mie

Translation.

Most puissant and redoubted liege Lord, we recommend us to you sovereign Lord in all ways respectful and reverend. May it please your Royal Majesty to understand that Robert Parys the deputy constable of Caernarvon Castle has apprized us through a woman, because there was no man who dared to come, for neither man nor woman dare carry letters on account of the rebels of Wales that Oweyn Glyndowr, with the French and all his other power, is preparing to assault the town and castle of Caernarvon, and to begin this enterprize with engines, sowes,[a] and ladders

[a] William of Malmesbury speaking of the engines which were used by the crusaders at the siege of Jerusalem, in 1099, says "There was one which we call the Sow, the ancients Vinea; because the machine, which is constructed of slight timbers, the roof covered with boards and wicker work, and the sides defended with undressed hides, protects those who are within it, who, after the manner of a sow, proceed to undermine the foundations of the walls." Sharpe's Will. Malmesb. p. 441.

deinz mesmes les Ville et Chastell en tout outre xxviij. hommes defensibles, q'est trop petit force, qar y sont xj. de les meillors hommes qestoient la dedeinz al darrein assege illeoques fait ore mortz, ascuns des plaies qils avoient a temps d'assaut a eux fait, et ascuns de pestilence, siq, les ditz Chastell et Ville sont en grand peril sicome le portor dicestes vous savera enformer par bouche, a qi pleise a votre hautesse doner ferme foi et credence, qar il sciet vous enformer de tout la veritee. Et luy toutpuissant Dieux vous ottrois, notre tres-redoute Seigneur liege, prosperitee et bon exploit entres touz voz affairs. Et pleise a votre hautesse regarder un lettre enclos dedeinz cèstes quele Reignald de Baildon un des Gardeins de la Ville de Conewey nous envoia huy ce jour, touchant lestat de votre Seignorie de Northgales. Escr. a Cestre la xvj. jour de Januer.

Voz poueres lieges

WILLIAM VENABLES *de Kynderton*

& ROG. BRESCY.

Translation.

of great length; and in the town and castle there are not in all more than twenty-eight fighting men, which is too small a force; for eleven of the more able men who were there at the last siege of the place are dead; some of the wounds they received at the time of the assault, and others of the plague; so that the said castle and town are in imminent danger, as the bearer of this will inform you by word of mouth, to whom your Highness will be pleased to give full faith and credence, as he can inform you most accurately of the truth. And may Almighty God grant to you, most redoubted Lord, prosperity and success in all your undertakings. And please it to your Highness to look at a Letter, here enclosed, which Reginald de Baildon, one of the Keepers of the town of Conway, has sent us this day, concerning the state of your Seignory of Northwales. Written at Chester the 16th day of January. Your poor lieges

WILLIAM VENABLES *of Kinderton*,
and ROGER BRESCY.

LETTER XIII.

Reynald of Bayldon one of the Keepers of Conway to William Venables, Constable of Chester, and Roger Brescy.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 39. *Orig.*]

WORSHIPFUL Sirs I recomaunde me to zow with al my herte; doyng zow to wndirstonde that al Caernaruan shire purposin hem in al the haste that thae mae for to go into the yle of Anglesey for to haue owte al the men & al the catel there, & for to bryng hit with hem into the mowntens, leste Englishemen shulde be refreshitte therwith. Also the Frenshemen makyn al the ordenaunce that thae mae or can for to assaele the towne of Caernaruan in al the haste that thae mae, knowyng wel that the towne is more febil nowe then hit was the laste tyme that thae were before hit; forasmuche as a hepe of the beste that were in Caernaruan that tyme bene god betaghte sethin, and as hit semeth to me hit were nedeful that thae hade helpe in haste tyme. Ferthirmore hit was done me to witte this same dae be a mon of Kryketh for certen, that William Hunte Constabil of Hardelagh, opon teisdae that laste was, cam owte of the Castel for to trete with the rebell withowte any ostage laede in for hym. And that the same tyme Robin of Holond, and othir with

hym, the wheche toke Jankyn Euor, laede honde opon the same William & lad hym awae, & two zemen with hym; one, Jak Mercer, & that othir Harry Baker. And what thae did with hem I connot sae at this tyme. Also Fevian Colier is full seke, gif he be on life; And mony of the sowdiors bene dede there of the pestelence, and sum drevyn owte amonge the rebell, and sum gone into Englond, and sum slaene in the wae toward Englond. But Sir Lewes & the remenant of the sowdiors kepyn the Castel welynogh yet. Also wil ze witte that the sowdiors there tokyn the keis of the Castell from the same constabil for sum thinges that thae fonde with hym; and tokyn him to Fivean & to sir Lewes for to have hem in kepyng al this qwarter of a zere gone. Wherfore I beceche zow hertly that ze wil sende warnyng to my lord in al the haste that ze mae wel, towching the maters before saede, so that my lorde mae be aviset whatte is best to do thereof. Also dure sirs I dar sae to zow in councel that I durste lae my hede that and there were two hundret men in Conowey, and two hundret in Caernaruan, abiding there from condilmesse in til the feste of saynt Ph. and Jacob, that the commuyns of Caen'shire woldyn cum to pees, and pae hor duitis to my lord as wel as evir thae diddyn; and zif hit be tariet til sumyr hit wil not be solightly, for then the rebell mae lie withowte, & so thae mae not nowe. Also I have herde my selfe mony of the gentilmen & of the commyns of M'yonnyth

shire & of Caern'shire swere that al men of the forsaede shirs exepte fowre or five gentilmen & afewe vacaboundis, woldin faene cum to pees so that Englishemen were lafte in the cuntre for to helpe to kepe hom from mysdoers, and namely for to cum into the cuntre whil the weddir were colde. And hit semeth to mony men hit were bettyr that suche a cumpany were in the cuntre for to make leve[a] of my lord is dette, & for to take hor wagys of the same dette, then for to lette the rebell haue al. More con J not write at this tyme, but God that is heuen king have zow in his holy kepyng. Writtyn in hast at the ton of Conowey the settirdae nexte aftyr the feste of the Epiphanie.

Zor poure servant

REYNALD OF BAYLDON

one of the Keperz of Conowey.

LETTER XIV.

Henry of Scharisbrec to William Venables and Roger Brescy, that Owen Glyndowr was likely to get possession of Harlech Castle.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 40 b. *Orig.*]

WORSCHEPFUL Siris if hit like zow to wete ther is a lytil mon w[t] Hawel Vaghan that was takyn when the

[a] levy.

constabull of Hardlagh wos takyn, & is sworne to Awyn[a] agaynis his will, & he has sendys vs word priuyly how his maystyr has word for soche that Awyn[a] has byen at Hardlagh & is accordit with all the men that arne theinne save vij, for to have dilyverance of the Castell at a certayn day for a certayn some of gold, & the day is in ryght hasty tyme bot he wot not when, & bot if hit be ryght sone ordaynt fore hit is lost & so is all the countre ther aboute. Worschipful Sir, wil ze vouchesafe when ze hau oversen this, to send hit to my maystir Sir John of Bolde, and makis ordinance as zo thenke be to do. Worschipful Sirs the holy Trinite kepe zow. Wrytyn in grete hast at Conway the xxvi day of feuyrzer.

From

HENR. OF SCHARISBREC.

LETTER XV.

Henry Prince of Wales to his Father King Henry the Fourth upon further successes against the Partizans of Glyndowr.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. F. III. fol. 59. *Orig.*]

*** The original of this Letter was printed by Rymer,[b] and imperfectly translated by Mr. Luders in his Tract on the early life of Henry the Fifth; who from misunderstanding two words in it, conceived that there was an omission of a sentence.

[a] Owen.

[b] Fœd. tom. viii. p. 300.

Carte, in his History of England, vol. ii. p. 665, speaking of Henry the Fourth's expedition into Wales in 1405, after his return from Northumberland, thus notices the Victory mentioned in the Letter.

" Prince Henry, his eldest son, had paved the way for his success, by a considerable victory, which he had gained in the beginning of this year, on March 11th, over Griffith, the eldest son of Owen Glyndourdwy; who had sent him with an army of eight thousand men into Glamorganshire. They had come to an engagement at Mynydh Pwlwellin, near Grosmont in Monmouthshire: and Griffith, after a sharp action, had been defeated, with the loss of eight hundred of his men slain on the spot, and about as many more, himself one of the number, taken prisoners. Among the dead bodies was found one, which much resembled Owen, and this gave occasion to a current report that he was slain: but it appeared afterwards to be the corpse of his brother Tudor, who was so very like him, that they had been often taken for one another, and were hardly to be distinguished, but by a wart which Owen had over one of his eyebrows. The report, however, disheartened the Welsh exceedingly: and the people of Glamorgan made their submission; except a few who repaired to Owen, when they had intelligence of his being alive." [a]

Moun tresredoubte et tressovereign Seigneur et Piere, le plus humblement que en mon cuer je scey penser me recomande a votre roiale Majestee, humblement requerant votre graciouse benison. Mon tresredoute et tressoverein Seigneur et Piere, je supplie vraiement que Dieu monstre graciousement pour vous son miracle en toutes parties, loez soit il en toutes ses oeures; car mescredy, le xj. jour de cest present moys

Translation.

My most redoubted and most sovereign Lord and Father in the most humble manner that in my heart I can devise I recommend me to your royal Majesty, humbly requesting your gracious blessing. My most redoubted and most sovereign Lord and Father, I sincerely pray that God will graciously show his miraculous aid toward you in all places; praised be he in all his works; for on Wednesday the eleventh of

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[a] Carte has not named his authority for these particulars: he probably quotes Wynne.

de Mars vos rebelx des parties de Glomorgan, Morgannok, Uske, Netherwent, et Overwent, feurent assemblez a la nombre de oyt Mil gentz par leure aconte demesne. Et s'en alerent le dit mescredy, par matyn, et arderent part de votre Ville de Grosmont dedeinz votre Seigneurie de Monmouth et Jennoia. Tantost hors moun trescher cousin le Sire de Talbot, et mon petit meigne de mon hostel, et a eux assemblerent vos foialx et vaillans chivalers William Neuport et Johan Greindre, lesqueux ne feurent q'un tres petit povoir en tous: mes il est bien voirs que la Victoire n'est pas en la multitude de poeple, et ce feut bien monstre illeoques, mes en la puissance de Dieu. Et illoeques, par l'aide de la benoite Trinitee, voz Gens avoient le champe, et vainquerent tous les ditz rebelx, et occirent de eux par loiall aconte en la champ a leure revenue de la chace aucuns dient viij C. et aucuns dient Mil, sur peine de lour vie; nientmeins, soit il l'un ou l'autre, en tiel aconte, je ne vuille pas contendre.

Translation.

this present month of March your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannok, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, assembled to the number of eight thousand men according to their own account. And they went on the same Wednesday, in the morning, and burnt a part of your town of Grosmont within your Lordship of Monmouth and Jennoia. Presently were out my welbeloved cousin the Lord Talbot and the small body of my household, and with them joined your faithful and valiant knights William Newport and John Greindre, the which formed but a small power in the whole: but true it is indeed that Victory is not in the multitude of people, and this was well proved there, but in the power of God. And there, by the aid of the blessed Trinity, your people gained the field and vanquished all the said rebels, and slew of them by fair account in the field, by the time of their return from the pursuit, some say eight hundred others a thousand, being questioned upon pain of death: nevertheless whether it were one or the other I will not contend.

Et pour vous enformer pleinement de tout cest fait, je vous envoie une homme de credence en ce cas, mon loiall serviteur, le pourt or decestes, qui feut a le fait et fist tresagreablement son devoir, si comme il fait a tout temps. Et tiels amendes Dieu vous a ordenne pour l'arsure de quâtre maisons de votre surdite Ville: et prisoners ne feurent pris forsque un, qui feu un grant chiefteyn entre eulx, luy quel je vous voudroie avoir envoie, mes il ne poet chivacher uncore a son aise.

Et touchant la gouvernance quele je me propose affaire apres cestes, plese a votre hautesse adjouster ferme credence a le portour de cestes en ce qu'il monstrera a mesme votre hautesse de ma part. Et pri a Dieu qu'il vous sauve tousdys en joie et honneur, et moy doynt pour vous solacer en haste avec autres bonnes nouvelles.

Escrit a Hereford le dit mescredy deinz nuyt. Votre treshumble et obeissant filz

HENRY.

Au Roy mon tresredoute et tres souverein Seigneur et Piere.

Translation.

And to inform you fully of all that has been done, I send you a person worthy of credit therein my faithful servant the bearer of this letter who was at the engagement and performed his duty well, as he has always done. And such amends has God ordained you for the burning of four houses in your aforesaid town: and of prisoners were none taken except one, a great chieftain among them, whom I would have sent to you but that he is not yet able to ride at ease.

And concerning the governance which I propose to make after this, may it please your Highness to give confident credence to the bearer of these in what he will lay before your Highness on my part. And I pray God to keep you always in joy and honour, and to grant me shortly to comfort you with other good news.

Written at Hereford the said Wednesday at night. Your most humble and obedient son

HENRY.

To the King my most redoubted and most sovereign Lord and Father.

SUCH are the Letters, hitherto, with one exception, unknown, which illustrate the History of Owen Glyndowr.

The genius of this extraordinary chieftain has been already mentioned as adapted more to rapine than to regular warfare. One instance only occurs in these letters in which he used military engines when besieging a fortress. The mischief which he did to Wales in the short period of fifteen years was incalculable.

Leland, in his Itinerary, has recorded a few instances of his depredations. "Montgomericke, deflorischid by Owen Glindour."[a] "Radenor partely destroied by Owen Glindour, and the voice is there that, an he wonne the Castel, he tooke a thre score men that had the garde, and causid them to be heddid on the brinke of the Castel yarde."[b] At Comehere abbey, "all the Howse was spoiled and defaced be Owen Glindour."[c] "The people about Dinas did burne the Castel there that Oene Glindour shuld not kepe it for his fouteres."[d] "The toun of the Hay within the waulles is wonderfully decaied. The ruine is adscribed to Oene Glindour."[e] Beside these, the towns of Cardif, Abergavenny, Grosmont, Usk, and Pool, the bishop's castle and the archdeacon's house at Llandaf, with the cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph, were all, either in part or wholly, victims of his rage. The List might be much augmented by turning to our Historians.[f]

Previous to the revolt of the Percies, Henry the Fourth's own warfare against Glyndowr was remarkably unsuccessful: so much so, that his failure was universally ascribed to the arts of witchcraft:

> "The King had never but tempest foule and raine,
> As long as he was ay in Wales grounde;
> Rockes and Mystes, Winds and Stormes, certaine
> All men trowed Witches it made that stounde."[g]

[a] Leland, Itin. vol. v. fol. 3. [b] Ibid. and vol. vii. p. i. fol. 27.
[c] Ibid. fol. 15. [d] Ibid. fol. 69. [e] Ibid. fol. 72.

[f] At Cardif, as we are informed by Leland from an ancient chronicle, Glyndowr burnt the whole town, except the Street in which the Franciscans dwelt: "*quem*, amore fratrum *cum Conventu* STARE PERMISIT. Cepit insuper Castrum, et destruxit, multasque divitias ibi repositas abstulit. Et cum Fratres Minores peterent ab eo libros suos et calices, *quos in Castro deposuerant*, respondit, 'Quare posuistis vestra bona in Castro? *Si ea retinuissetis apud vos*, SALVA VOBIS *fuissent*.'" Lel. Collectan. tom. ii. p. 313. From a previous passage it should seem that the Franciscans were at least suspected of contributing money to support Glindowr's cause. A. D. 1402. "Fama publica erat Fratres Minores misisse magnam summam pecuniæ Audoeno Glindour, *ut in Angliam veniret*." The Franciscans had been long favourable to the cause of Richard the Second. That monarch, in his last distress, had assumed their habit as a disguise.

[g] Hardyng's Chron. edit. 1812, p. 360. So Walsingham, ed. 1574, p. 407. A. D. 1402. "Rex Angliæ ante festum assumptionis S. Mariæ, collectis exercitibus, profectus est in Walliam ad persequendum Owenum de Glendor, sed nihil profuit tantas armorum strepitus, cum Wallicus in nota latibula se recepit, quin potius (ut putatur) *art emagica* REGEM *pene perdidit*, cum exercitu quem ducebat, per pluvias, nives, et grandines (ut creditur) *arte diabolica concitatas*."

The Monk of Evesham, speaking of Henry's second expedition, says, that he could never find Glyndowr: "Ipsum vero Glyndor nec VIDIT, nec ubi esset ALIQUID AUDIVIT."[a]

The tacticks, however, which suited the savage fastnesses of Wales were no longer either profitable or expedient when Henry was really to be met by a powerful combination in the field. Glyndowr missed the critical moment. Had he joined his forces to those of Sir Henry Percy at the battle of Shrewsbury, there seems ground to believe that Henry the Fourth must have been defeated.[b]

Owen tried to repair the oversight by introducing French auxiliaries, who arrived sometime in 1405, and for a while upheld his cause; but, though successful, they found little to be gained by remaining in a ravaged country. They left him to drag his war out upon his own resources.[c]

The remainder of Glyndowr's life was distinguished by few exploits. He maintained his resistance without being really formidable. At one time he certainly struck a panic into England. From the MS. of the Historia Aurea of John of Tinmouth, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, we learn that the following miserable hexameter was inscribed upon the wall at the end of the Monk's Choir of St. Alban's Abbey:

"Christe Dei splendor, supplico tibi destrue Gleendor."[d]

Glyndowr's death is usually placed in 1415.

[a] Vita Ric. II. ed. Hearne.

[b] There is a very curious Letter in old French, in the volume which has been so often quoted, from Sir John de Stanley to King Henry the Fourth, dated July 30th, probably in 1405. It seems to have been written after the King had had some success against the Welsh, an account of which he had communicated to Sir John at Lathom House, in Lancashire. From it we learn that Glyndowr had summoned his Parliament, not at Melenyth but at Harlech, and, at that time, formed the hope of coming to a Treaty. He says, upon the day on which the King's Letters arrived, David Whitmore and Jevan ap Meredith, two of the most considerable persons of the County of Flint, came to him to talk upon the news of Wales: "Et auxi ils mont dit coment Owen de Glendoredes ad somone un Parlement de present *a* HARDELAGH *lon serront quatres des plus suffisants persones de checun Comote parmy tout Gales soubz sa obbeisance esteantz*, et auxi tres redoute Seigneur les ditz David et Yevan mont dit qen taunt qils puissent savoir a celle temps que le dit Owen meisqil poet estre seure a son dit Parlement d'avoir trop fort poueir et graunde eide hors de Fraunce, *il soy purpose d'envoier a vous trespuissant Seigneur apres celle son Parlement avauntdit, pour* UN TREITE; et mesmes lez David et Yevan sont ales au dit Parlement pour eut savoir tout le purpos et exploit d'icelle et de moy reencontrer al Countee a tenir le marsdy proschien en Cestre *pour moy eut certifier tout la verite et pourpos de dit Parlement.*" He signs himself "Votre simple bacheler, si vous pleise, John de Stanley." No treaty was, however, entered into.

[c] In 1406 the French made a slighter attempt to assist Glyndowr, with six and thirty vessels, the greater part of which were shipwrecked in a storm. Glyndowr's treaty with Charles the Sixth of France is printed in Rymer, from the Cottonian MS. Titus A. III.

[d] In the 8th Hen. IV. the people of *South Wales* were ordered by proclamation to

At Corwen, the next stage beyond Llangollen on the road to Bangor Ferry, the head of Glyndowr is still the sign of the principal inn; and its environs abound in traditions of the most marvellous kind relating to him. At Rug also, a mile from Corwen, the seat of Col. Salusbury, his knife and dagger are shewn, preserved in one sheath. Numerous, however, as are the traditions relating to Glyndowr in this district, they are confined to it. In other parts of Wales, particularly in the south, nothing is either known or remembered of him beyond the facts established by history.

LETTER XVI.

Richard Earl of Cambridge to King Henry the Fifth, a Letter of Confession.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XIV. fol. 39. *Orig.*]

*** Richard of Conyngsburgh, second son of Edmund of Langley Duke of York, was high in the favour of King Henry the Fifth, who, in the second year of his reign, created him Earl of Cambridge. The next

return to their desolated possessions. Pat. 8 Hen. IV. p. 1, m. 6. T. R. apud Westm. 3 Maii. Rymer's unpubl. Collections, MS. Donat. Mus. Brit. 4598.

From a Roll of the second year of Henry the Fifth it appears that in the 10th Hen. IVth. John Lord Furnival, who went at that time with two hundred men toward Carnarvon, was stopped at Shrewsbury, John Weole, Esquire, the constable of the castle and town of Shrewsbury, shutting the gates against them *in favour of Glyndowr*. Rym. Collect. ut supr. 4599, art. 30.

In the 11th Hen. IVth. 1409, an action of some extent must have taken place, since in October that year the following Welsh prisoners were received at Windsor Castle. Ho. ap Jevan ap Howell, Walther ap Jevan Vethan, Rys ap Jevan ap Rys, Jevan Goz ap Morgan, David ap Tudor, Rys ap Meredyd, Madok Berg, Jenkyn Backer, David ap Cad, and Thomas Dayler. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 509. Claus. 11 Hen. IV. m. 37. 18 Oct. In the same year, says Leland, "Rise ap Die, an esquier of Wales, and a supporter of Owen Glendowr, was taken and hanged at London." In this year also the Officers of the Marches of Wales entered into a truce with Owen, which the King refused to confirm. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 611. Pat. 11 Hen. IV. 23 Nov.

In the 12th Hen. IVth. we have the King's Letters to Richard Gray of Codnore, constable of Nottingham Castle, to deliver to the constable of the Tower of London Gryff. ap Owein Glendourdy and Owan ap Gryff. ap Ricard, his prisoners, dated 21st March; with another Letter to the constable of the Tower to receive them. Rym. unpubl. Collect. MS. Donat. Brit. Mus. 4599, art. 100. from Claus. 12 Hen. IV. m. 18.

In the 13th of Hen. IVth. we have the King's licence to John Tiptoft seneschal of Brecon, and William Botiller receiver of Brecon, to treat with Owen for the ransom of David Gamme. T. R. Westm. 4 Jun. 1412. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 753.

year, A. D. 1415, while the King was mustering his forces at Southampton preparatory to an expedition against France, he was accused of a treasonable conspiracy, indicted, convicted, and beheaded. The following Letter was his confession; that which succeeds it, his later supplication for life: but neither had any effect upon Henry. The conspiracy to which they relate was the first spark of that flame which, in the course of time, consumed the two Houses of Lancaster and York. Richard Earl of Cambridge was the father of Richard Duke of York, and the grandfather of King Edward the Fourth.

This, and the succeeding Letter of the Earl of Cambridge, have been given by Rymer: but the Editor still thought the insertion of them desirable here, on account of their connection with other Letters, which will be given in the reign of Edward the Fourth.

My most dredfulle and sovereyne lege Lord, lyke to yowre hynesse to wete touchyng the purpose cast ageyns zowre hye estat. Havyng ye Erle of Marche by his aune assent, and by the assent of myself, Wher of y most me repent of al worde[a] thyng, and by the acord of the lord Scrop and Sir Thomas Grey, to have hadde ye forseyd erle into the lond of Walys wyth outyn yowre lycence, takyng upon hym the sovereynte of zys lond; zyf yondyr manis persone wych they callyn kynge Richard hadde nauth bene alyve, as y wot wel yat he nys not alyve, for the wyche poynt i putte me holy in zowre grace. And as for ye forme of a proclamacyon wych schulde hadde bene cryde in ye Erle name, as he[b] heyre to the Corowne of Ynglond ageyns zow, my lege lord, calde by auntreu[c] name Harry of Lancastre usurpur of Yngland, to the entent to hadde made the more people to hadde draune to

[a] worldly. [b] the. [c] untrue.

hym and fro zow, of the wych crye Scrop knew not of by me, but Grey dyd, havyng wyth the erle a baner of ye Armes of Ynglond, havyng also ye coroune of Speyne on a palet, wych, my lege Lord, is one of zowre weddys, for ye wych offence y put me holy in zowre grace. And as for ye p̈pose takyn by Unfrevyle and Wederyngtoun for ye bryngyng in of that persone wych they namyd kyng Richard, and Herry Percye oute of Scotland wyth a power of Scottys, and theyre power togedyrs semyng to theyme able to geve zow a bataylle, of ye wych entent Sir Thomas Grey wyst of, and i also, but nauth Scrop as by me; of ye wych knawyng i submytte me holy into zowre-grace. And as for the takyng of zowre castelles in Walys, Davy Howell made me be host, so there were asteryng in ye north; of ye wych poynt i putte me haly in zowre grace. And as touchyng the Erle of Marche, and Lusy hys man, they seydyn me both yat the Erle was nauth schreven of a great whyle, but at all hys confessours putte hym in penaunce to clayme yat yey callyddyn hys ryth that wod be that tyme that every iknew, heny thyng yat ever to hym longyd . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Of ye wych poynttes and artycles here befor wretyn, and of al odyr wych now arne nauth in mynde, but treuly as oft as heny to myn mynde fallyn i schal deuly and treuly certefye zow ther of, besekyng to zow, my lege Lord, for hys love yat suffyrd passyoun

on ye good fryday so have zee conpassyoun on me zowre lege man, and yf heny of thes persones whos names arne contenyd in zys bylle, woldyn contrary ye substaunce of yat i have wretyn at zys tyme, i schalle be redy wyth the myth of God to make hyt good, as zee my lege Lord wille awarde me.

THE particulars of the Earl of Cambridge's Indictment are in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv. p. 64. in Latin. The Lansdowne MS. Num. I. art. 27, contains the substance in English, apparently abstracted from the Record in the time of Queen Elizabeth: with the following observations at the end.

" It dothe not appere in all this Indytemente anye Treason by any acte otherwise then by conspyracye in wordes, and as touchinge the deathe of the kinge and his bretheren the same semeth to be gathered uppon the circumstances of the mattiers and thinges conspyred and devised to have bene done, whiche yf they had bene so attempted and executed yt wolde but tende to the destruccion and deathe of the kinge and his bretheren. And why the compassinge of the deathes of the kinges bretheren shoulde be adjudged Treason may be thoughte straunge, for although Thomas duke of Clarence, the eldest brother of the three, and, for that the kinge had then no child nor was ever maryed, was his heire apparante, yet that ys not conteyned within the Statute of 25 Edw. III. where the ymagyninge of the death of the kinges eldest sonne and heire ys declared to be Treason, not makinge mencion of anye other yonger sonne of the kinge nor of anye the kinges bretheren. But yt semeth that Statute ys largely expounded and that th'eldest brother of the kinge, by equitye of the same Statute, may be taken in place of the eldest sonne of a kynge where there ys no sonne, and so the Judges in those dayes dyd take the same Statute and dyd so expounde yt."

LETTER XVII.

Richard Earl of Cambridge to King Henry the Fifth; sueing for mercy after his condemnation.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. F. III. fol. 7. *Orig.*]

MYN most dredfull and sovereyne lege Lord, i Richard York zowre humble subgyt and very lege man, beseke zow of Grace of al maner offenses wych y have done or assentyd to in heny kynde, by steryng of odyr folke eggyng me yer to, where in y wote wel i have hyll offendyd to zowre Hynesse; besechyng zow at the reverence of God yat zow lyke to take me in to the handys of zowre mercyfulle and pytouse grace, thenkyng zee wel of zowre gret goodnesse. My lege Lord, my fulle trust is yat zee wylle have consyderacyoun, thauth[a] yat myn persone be of none valwe, zowre hye goodnesse wher God hath sette zow in so hye estat to every lege man yat to zow longyth plenteously to geve grace, yat zow lyke to accept zys myn symple reqwest for ye love of oure Lady and of ye blysfulle Holy Gost, to whom I pray yat yey[b] mot zowre hert enduce to al pyte and grace for yeyre[c] hye goodnesse.

[a] though. [b] they. [c] their.

PROCESSES, in early times, where the necessity of getting rid of a courtier was thought to exist, were short. Some were even more summary than that against the Earl of Cambridge. The Cottonian Manuscript Julius F. VI. fol. 80. contains some Proceedings in a Parliament held at Leicester in the 2d of Hen. Vth. concerning the reversing of the attainder of the Earl of Salisbury, who, by an oversight of the Commons, was not tried till after his execution. For the details of this remarkable fact the reader may consult the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv. pp. 17, 18.

In the Harleian Manuscript 5805, fol. 323. is a representation of Richard of Coningsburgh Earl of Cambridge from a window, now gone, in Canterbury Cathedral; put up about 1414. Probably this is the only Portrait of him known. On his surcoat over his armour, are the Arms of France and England: 1 and 4. France; 2. 3. England; a bordure of Leon; and a label of the Dukedom of York. A chaplet of roses and crosses on his head.

There is a muster roll of the Army of Henry the Fifth in this his first Voyage to France, preserved among Rymer's unprinted Collections in the British Museum, which must have been taken at Southampton, as the Earl of Cambridge occurs in it, with a personal retinue of two knights, fifty-seven esquires, and a hundred and sixty horse archers. The Duke of Clarence brought in his retinue one earl, two bannerets, fourteen knights, two hundred and twenty-two esquires, and seven hundred and twenty horse archers. The Sum of the Roll includes 2536 men at arms; 4128 horse archers; 3771 foot archers; thirty-eight arblesters; 120 miners; twenty-five master gunners; fifty servitor-gunners; a stuffer of bacinets; twelve armourers; three kings of arms; Mr. Nicholas Colnet, physician, who brought three archers; twenty surgeons; an immense retinue of labourers, artizans, fletchers, bowyers, wheelwrights, chaplains, and minstrels. The total of the fighting persons amounting to 10731. These were the men who gained the field of Azincourt.

LETTER XVIII.

Thomas Langley Bishop of Durham, to King Henry the Fifth, upon the King's money, jewels, &c. deposited in the Church of Durham.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 29. *Orig.*]

*** Thomas Langley, afterwards Cardinal, was consecrated Bishop of Durham August 8th, 1406. He died July 8th, 1457. His designation of himself as *Priest* of Durham, was one frequently used by Bishops in early times. A Letter to King Henry the Eighth will be hereafter given, in which the Bishop of London stiles himself "your symple Priest and Bedeman." In Latin the Bishops often stiled themselves, in the same manner, "ministri." [a]

The mention in this Letter of the death of the Prior of Durham ascertains its date. John de Hemingburgh Prior of Durham died in 1416. He was succeeded in that office by John de Wessington, who is likewise alluded to. [b]

The main subject of this Letter deserves a short comment. No chest or other instrument, containing gold, silver, or jewel, charter, muniment, or other evidences, which "*had been* LEFT TO KEEP," were to be removed till the new Prior had been spoken to.

In a Note of Cardinal Beaufort, printed in the former Series of these Letters, it was shewn that *his* wealth was in his coffers *locked and sealed.* The Monasteries however, as in this instance, even in times considerably earlier, were the safest places of deposit. Toward the close of the twelfth century the Jews of St. Edmondsbury placed their treasure in the Abbey there, under the care of the Sacrist. [c] Stowe tells us that when Henry the Third seized the wealth of Hubert de Burgh earl of Kent, in

[a] In a charter printed in the new edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. ii. p. 203 Robert bishop of Bath calls himself "Robertus Bathon. eccl. *minister.*" Cardinal Langton, also, in an Instrument in which he recites and publishes Pope Honorius's Bull in favor of the Cistercian Order in 1226, stiles himself in a similar manner "S. permissione divina Cantuar. Ecclesiæ *ministər humilis,* totius Angliæ Primas, et Sacræ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis." Cart. antiq. Harl. 75 A. 14.

[b] Compare Wharton, Angl. Sacra.

[c] See Jocelyne de Brakelond's Chron. MS. Harl. 1005. fol. 138.

1232, he found it placed in deposit with the Master of the Temple in Fleet Street.[a] When Sir Sampson Foliot died, in 1284, it appeared that he had deposited his riches in the Abbey of Oseney near Oxford.[b] Sir John Fastolf also, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, as we learn from the Inventory of his wealth, out of 2643*l.* of ready money, kept more than 2000*l.* in the Abbey of St. Benet Hulme.

Nor were Monasteries places of deposit for money only. From an entry in the Chartulary of Garendon Abbey in Leicestershire we learn that that Monastery was a depositary for the title deeds of at least one of the neighbouring lords. "Memorandum quod die Sabbati proxima ante festum Potentianæ Virginis, anno Domini Millesimo CCC.xxvii^mo. Edmundus de Essheby senescallus domini Henrici de Bellomonte, et Ricardus Deryng clericus ejusdem domini, ceperunt de bursaria de Gerendonia omnes cartas quæ fuerunt domini Hugonis de Spencer de manerio de Lutzborowe, videlicet DUAS CISTAS PLENAS; et eas secum, de Domo prædicta, portaverunt ad opus domini Henrici."[c]

SOVEREYN Lord, with als[d] meke and entier hert as I kan or may I recomande me to youre roial Majeste, to the whiche plaise it to wite that on Monday at nyght last passet I have receyvet youre fulworschipfull Lettres, by the tenure of the whiche it hath liket yow to let me wite how ye be enformed that with inne youre Churche of Duresme, under the warde of two monkes of the Churche, and the last Priour that ded is, and of a man that is clepet Mydeltone, ther shulde be certein thyng that to yowe apperteneth, as it is more specialy writen in yowre said Lettres.

The whiche youre Lettres by me receyvet and understanden the said Monday atte nyght, I have on

[a] Survey of Lond. edit. 1603. p. 402.
[b] Reg. Pecheham, archiep. Cantuar. fol. 207 b.
[c] Chartul. Abb. Garendon, MS. Lansd. Brit. Mus. fol. 28.
[d] as.

Tysday in the mornyng ordeynet a sufficient persone, that with your message and tho enformer that come with hym, is goen in al godely hast to youre said Kirk of Duresme, ther to charge on your behalve the Priour that now is, that out of the said Churche ne Priory be not remwet[a] ne delyveret no kist ne othir instrument that may cotene[b] gold, sylver, or juell, chartre, muniment, or othir evydences that ther has bene left to kepe, til the forsaid Prior and I may speke to gedir; and more to that matire have I noght mow do[c] as yet, but als sone as I may more do ye shall have wityng therof. As of tythyngs[d] I kan no nothir write but suche as by myn othir Letteres I send yow by the berer of thes. Soverein Lord, the Holygost have yow in his kepying. Writen atte Pontfrect, this Thoresday in the mornyng.

Youre humble Precst
of Duresme.

To
Our Soverainge Lorde
the Kynge.

[a] removed. [b] contain. [c] more done. [d] tidings.

LETTER XIX.

Letter to Kinge Henry Vth in behalf of the Lord Furnyval Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

A. D. 1417.

[MS. LANSD. 418. fol. 85. OUT OF THE WHITE BOOK OF THE EXCHEQUER BURNT IN SIR FRAUNCES ANGIERS CLOSET AT JACOB NEWMANS, ANNO 1610.]

*** The Annals of Ireland in the earliest period of its history are obscure; nor are we acquainted with the details of its first connection with England.

Giraldus Cambrensis is wrong when he states that, till the time of Henry the Second, Ireland had remained free from foreign incursion.[a] We have Bede's authority for its invasion by Egfrid king of Northumberland, in 684: and though the Charter which represents our Edgar as monarch of Ireland is usually considered spurious, yet other charters of unquestioned authenticity, of a date but little later, recognize its formulæ; and we have coins both of Ethelred the Second and Canute, minted at Dublin.

That the Conquest of Ireland was long an object of ambition with the Kings of England cannot be doubted; and it is remarkable that it should have been planned by Henry the Second at the moment of his mounting the English throne. His compact with Pope Adrian the Fourth for the reduction of Ireland, is still preserved in Rymer, in a Latin Letter from the Pontiff.

Like the formation of the Domesday Survey, the receipt of this Letter was considered as an epoch by the English. An original charter of John Earl of Ewe is extant, which concludes with these remarkable words: "Hæc autem concessio facta est Wincestriam *co anno quo verbum factum est de Hibernia conquirenda.* Hanc vero cartulam magister Mobertus fecit anno LIIII. ab incarnato Domino."[b]

But Henry could take no advantage of his grant till 1172, when having procured two additional Bulls from Pope Alexander the Third, one addressed to himself the other to the Kings and Princes of Ireland, he entered upon the Invasion, and then followed the submission of the Irish. Henry landed at Waterford Oct. 18th, 1172, whence he proceeded to Dublin and received the homage of the chieftains.

John, son of Henry the Second, when Lord of Ireland, established

[a] "Ab omni alienarum gentium incursu LIBERA permansit et inconcussa."

[b] Cart. antiq. Harl. Brit. Mus. 83 C. 25.

Courts of Law, the jurisdiction of which was to extend to the limits of the English pale: the territory so designated forming the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Lowth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick and Tipperary. In what remained, which composed about two thirds of the Kingdom, the English influence was only nominal.

On the intermediate History of Ireland, between the time of John and Henry the Fifth, we have no occasion to comment here. The wars of Edward the Third slackened the activity of the English rule, and opened the way to those revolts which by detaining Richard the Second in Ireland at a critical moment, proved his ruin. It may suffice to say that Ireland in the reign of Henry the Fifth was as wild in its country and as rude in its inhabitants as in the reign of Henry the Second. The English pale, as will be seen in the present Letter, was little more than a garrison of territory.

It may be curious to mention here that a band of sixteen hundred *native Irish* armed with their own weapons of war, "in mail, with darts and skaynes," under the lord of Kylmaine, were with Henry the Fifth at the Siege of Rouen. They kept the way which came from the forest of Lyons. Hall says, they "did so their devoyre, that none were more praised nor did more damage to their enemies."[a]

The Lord Furnivall mentioned in this Letter, was Sir John Talbot of Hallamshire, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury, so conspicuous as a warrior in the reign of Henry the Sixth. He was made Lieutenant of Ireland in the 1st of Henry the Fifth, and received the title of Lord Furnivall by courtesy through his wife. She was the eldest of the two daughters of Sir Thomas Nevil, who had married Joan the sole daughter and heiress of William the last Lord Furnivall. His exploits in Ireland seem worthy of record. He maintained an able government on scanty means. His income for that purpose amounting to little more than two thousand six hundred pounds a year.[b]

RIGHTE excellente, righte gracious, and our righte redoubt and righte soveraiyne leige Lord, Wee doe recomend us unto your high royall Matie, soe humbly and obediently as any leige men may doe, in any manner, unto there soveraigne and redoubted leige Lord;

[a] See Hall, new edit. p. 83.

[b] "HIBN. Johanni domino de Furnyvall locumtenenti Hiberniæ pro salva custodia ejusdem a xxx^o^. die Januar. anno secundo usque primum diem Augusti prox. sequen. per dimidium annum 1333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" MS. Cotton. Cleop. F. III. fol. 141.

especiallie, and above all other earthly thinges desiringe to heare and to knowe of the gracious prosperitie and noble health of your renowned person; the same beinge soe gracious and joyous newes as any can imagine or thinke to the principall comforte and especiall consolation of us and all your faythfull subjectes; and namely of us which are continuinge in a lande of warr, environed by your Irishe Enimies and English Rebels in pointe to be destroied, if it weere not that the soveren ayde and comforte of God and of you our gracious Lord, did altogeather releve us. And righte excellent, righte gracious, and righte redoubted and righte soveraigne leige Lord, forsoe much as the hō.[a] lord the Lord of Furnyvale your faythfull subjecte and Liuetenaute of this yor. lande of Ireland was purposed to departe from your land and to repayre to your high presence, to sue for his payment which to him is behinde, for the safe keepinge of this your lande; and wee, consyderinge the great destruction and disease which hath come unto this lande by his laste absence from us, and eschuinge greater that may come and are likely to falle uppon the same if he shoulde be absente at this presente tyme, wee have requested him in the behalfe of you our soveraigne Lord, and have supplicated unto him on our owne behalfes to attend heare, and not to departe, for the safetie of this yor. lande and of yor. faythfull leiges in the same; and wee to

[a] honoured.

write for him to your gracious person for his recommendacions for the greate chardges, laboures, and travelles, by him had and sustained in theise partes, and that he mighte have his said payment to the safety of the same your landes, and of your faythfull subjectes therin; wheruppon, our righte soveraigne Lorde, if it please you, wee doe signifie unto your Royall Matie. and to others to whom it shall appertaine, the great laboures, travels, and endevoures made by your said Lifetenaunte heere after his firste arrivall in this land untill his laste rapaire to yor. highe presence, and of other, after that, by him done. Firste your said Lifetenaunte, takeing unto him the advise of your Counsell on this side, and of other lords temporall, knightes, esquires, and other good commoners, made many greate jernies and hostinges uppon one of the strongest Irishe enimies of Leynstre, called O'More of Layse, a great cheefetaine of this Nation, by beinge in his contry for six dayes and nightes twice, which was not done before in our tyme, and takeinge his cheefe place and goodes, burninge, forrageing, & destroyinge all his contry, his corne, and his other goodes, and burninge and breakinge certaine of his castles called the Castle of Colyndragh and the Castle of Shenneigh, and rescuinge diveres English prisoneres there, beinge wthout payinge raunsome, and woundinge and killinge a greate multitude of his people, and made such warc uppon him that he was forced againste his will to

make peticion to have yor. Peace by indenture, and to put his sonne in pleadge into the handes of your said Livetenaunte, to keepe the peace safely, and to amende that wherin he had offended againste your faythfull subjectes; and more over to serve & travell with your said Livetenaunte uppon his warninge againste all Irishe enimies & Englishe rebelles at his commaundement; soe that by meanes thereof the said O'More come with two battayles, one foote & on horse, to serve uppon a stronge enimie & a cheefetaine of his nation called Mac Mahon, the distance of forty leagues from the partes of Layse, and he beinge with the same yor. Livetenaunte, & under his safe conduit, and in ayde of him in the foresaid contry of Layse two other great cheefetaines of theire nations of Leynstre wth. theire people. That is to say O Bryun and O Rale . . . . . shame and overthrowe of the warr against him may be continued which God graunte: and the said O Ferall and O Rale doe still contynue peticiones to enjoy your peace. And alsoe he roode againste Mac Mahone a greate Irishe enimie and a powrefull cheifetaine of his nation in the partes of Uluestre adjoyninge unto the County of Louth, and him did strongely invade longe tyme by diveres laborious hostinges and jorneyes, some on foote, by sixteene leagues, and burnte & destroyed one of his cheife places, with all his townes & corne aboute, & wounded & killed a greate multitude of his people, untill hee must of force yealde himselfe to your Peace

& deliver divers English prisoners wthout ransome, which he and his people have taken, and that he undertooke by indenture to travell with the same your Leiuetennant agaynst whatsoever enimie or rebell, upon his warning, in such sort that hee sent Manus his brother with a great multitude of their people to serve uppon that sayd Oc Conor which is forty myles & more from their country; & also he rode agaynst O Hallon a greate cheiftayne of his nation and Irish enimie in the same partes of Ulster, & warred soe strongly upon him that hee was compelled by force to yeeld himselfe to your peace, and undertooke to ride agaynst all Irish enimies & English rebells at his pleasure, in such sort that he did serve with three hundreth men & more uppon the forsayd Mac Mahonne; & after that disloyally rose up agayne in warres & distroyed your faythfull leiges; and presently your sayd Leiuetennant theruppon ordeired divers great jorneys upon him in his country, where he burnt, forraged, & destroyed many therof & wounded & killed many of his people, & cutt a greate place thorrow a longe wood, in breadth of two leages or more, thorow terror of which thinge hee dayly made suplication to have peace, & putt in his hostages for the safe keeping therof, & theruppon the greate O'Nele pretendinge himselfe to bee Kinge of the Irish in Ulster. And O Neleboy sonne to Mc. Qwenous, Mc Gwere, O Dowenell, greate & powerfull cheifetaynes of their nation, & divers other Irish eni-

mies, hearing of the cutting of the same place & of the damage & distruction done also to the sayd O Hanlan, & doubting the like to be done to them by your Leifetenaunt, sent to him to have peace & to doe him service, & also to serve wth. him upon all other Irish enimies & English rebelles; & also he caused in many places every Irish enimie to serve upon the other, which thinge hath not beene seene by longe tyme in theise partes untill the coming of your Leiueteñant aforsayd; and he hath accomplished divers other jorneis & labours for the sayd releife and comfort of your faythfull leiges on this side the sea, and in especially at the making herof, in repayring & mending of a bridge called the bridge of Athy, sett in the fronture of the borders of the Irish enimies of Laies, for the safe keeping wherof he hath erected a new tower upon the same for a warde to putt therwith a greate fortificac̃on aboute the same for resistance of the sayd enimies, to the great comfort & releife of the English & greate over-throw of the Irish enimies; by which bridge your faythfull leiges were oftentimes prayed[a] & killed, but now your sayd leiges, both their & els where, may suffer their goods and cattels to remayne in the feilds day & night wthout being stolen, or sustayning any other losse, which hath not beene seene here by the space of these thirty yeares past, God bee thanked & your gratious provision. And now after this upon Munday in the Whitson

[a] preyed.

weeke, att Lasenhale in the county of Dublin, Morice O Keating cheiftayne of his nation, traitor & rebell to you our gratious Lord, for the great feare which he had of your sayd Leiftenaunt, for himselfe & his nation, yeilded himselfe to the same your Leiuetenant without any condicion, with his brest agaynst his swords poynt & a cord about his necke, then delivering to your sayd Leiftenant without ransome the English prisoners which he had taken before, to whom grace was graunted by indenture, & his eldest sonne given in pleadge to bee loyall leiges from thence forwarde to you our soveraigne Lord. Wee humbly besceche your gratious lordshipp that yt would please you of your especiall grace to thinke upon your said land, & in the workes of charitye to have mercie & pitty upon us your poore leiges therof, who are environed on all sydes in warre with English rebells & Irish ēnimies to our continuall destruction & sorrow, & alsoe to have your sayd Leiuetenaunt as especially recomended to your soveraigne Lordship for the causes aforsayd, & more over to provide soe gratiously such a sufficient payment for him that he may make himselfe stronge inough to resiste the malice of your enimies on this side the sea, & his souldiers able to pay for their vittals & other thinges which they toke of your faythfull leiges for the saftye of your land aforsayd, & of your poore leiges therin, consideringe our redoubt leige Lord that yf your forces be not here alwayes soe strongly mayntayned & continued

wthout being deminished, your Irish enimies & English rebells yf they may espie the contrary, although they have putt in hostages & are otherwise strongly bound to the peace, yet they will rise agayne unto wars, which is a privie Conquest of your land aforsayd. And furthermore the mony which your sayd Leiftennant doth receive of your gratious Lordshipp for the safe keeping of this your land is soe little that yt doth not suffice to paye so much unto the soldiors as is likly to mayntayne your warrs heere by a greate quantitye, by reason wherof they can pay but litle for any thinges taken from your sayd leidges for the sustenance of them & their horses, which is to the importable chardges of your leidges & perpetuall destruction of them yf they be not gratiously succored & relèved by your gratious lordshipp in that behalfe; & moreover wee beseeche your gratious Lordshipp to have yor. sayd Leiuetenānt especially recomended unto you for his greate continuall labours & costes which he hath borne & sustayned about the deliverance of the Earle of Dessemond, who was falsly & deceatfully taken & detayned in prison by his unkle, to the greate distruction of all the contry of Mounstre, untill now that he is gratiously delivered by the good & gratious government of the same your Leiftenant. In witness whereof wee your faythfull & humblè leiges the bishopp of Kildare, the gardeins of the spirituallities of Ardmaghe, the abbot of the House of our ladie of Fryme, the abbot of the House of our

ladie of Kenleys, the abbot of the House of our lady of Balkinglase, the abott of the House of our ladye of Beckty, the abbot of the House of our ladie nere Develin,[a] the abbott of the House of our ladie of Novan, the prior of the House of St. Petter of Trime, the prior of the House of our lady of Louth, the prior of the House of St. Leonards of Dondalke, the prior of the House of St. John of Reulys, the prior of the House of our lady of Colp. the prior of the House of our lady Urse of Droghda, the prior of the House of our lady of Dyveleck, the prior of the House of St. Johns of Droghda, the prior of the House of St. Lawrence of Droghda, the prior of the House of our lady of Conall, the prior of the House of St. Johns of Naas, the prior of the House of St. Johns without Newgate of Deuelin, the prior of the House of the Trinitye in Deuelin, the prior of the House of Fowre, the prior of the House of God of Molingare, the prior of the House of our lady of Trysternagh, the archdecon of Kildare, the archdecon of Priell, Thomas Lenfant barron of Atherde, Richerd Nugent barron of Delbin, Matt. Huse barron of Galtrym, Thomas Mareward barron of Skryn, Edward Perrers knight, John London knight, the maior & balifes of the Citie of Dublin, the Comons of your towne of Droghda, the Commons of Dondalke, the Commons of Atherdee, the Commons of Kenlys, the Commons of Tryme, the Commons of Athboy, the Com-

[a] Dublin.

mons of Naas, the Commons of Clane, the Commons of Trestelder mot, the balifes of Louthe, the sherife of Dublin, the sherife of Kyldare, the sheryfe of Priell, & the sherife of the Crosse of Meth, Christopher Plum, James Uriell, John Fitz Adame, Robert Burnell, William of Tynbegh, Robert White of Killester, Thomas Talbott of Malahede, John Clinton of Kepp, Christopher White, Henry Drake, Walter Plunke, John Taff, Robert Heiron, William Rath, John Clynton of Drumchasshell, Walter Congagham, Thomas White of Priell, Mathew Tanner, John Heyron, Thomas Rath of Croffkill, Walter Ley, William Deveros, Andrew Tuitt, Robert Bet, John Fitz Richard, John Dillon, Richard Lyneham, George Fay, John Beery, Symon London, Richard Talbott of Mith, John Dardits of Gryll, W^m^. Fitz Willm, John White of Conall, William Heron, Mories Welsh, Nicholas Gaberd, Patrick Ley, Walter Harrold, William Welsh, Gylbaugh, Nicholas Brown, Patrick Flatesbury, John Eustace of Newland, Edward Ewstace, Thomas Penckeston, Richard Fitz Ewstace, William White of the county of Dublin, Nicolas Gawarry, John Drake, Robert Gallan of Dublin, Thomas Cusack of Dublin & Lucas Dowdalle of Dublin Esquires, have put our Seales. Dated the syx and twentieth day of June in the fith yeare of yor. gratious Reigne.

THERE is one fact in the History of Ireland which has not often been adverted to by the English Historians, and to which it may not be quite

irrelative to call the attention of the reader, when speaking of the former condition of that Country. It is that at a period even earlier than the Norman Conquest Ireland was the greatest, as probably the nearest mart for English slaves. Malmesbury in his Life of Wulfstan bishop of Worcester has given a minute account of this extraordinary traffic. For in those times, and long before, when any person had more children than he could maintain, or more domestic slaves than he chose to keep, he sold them to a merchant, who disposed of them in Ireland, Denmark, Italy, or elsewhere, as he found most profitable. The people of *Bristol* were the chief carriers in this trade as far as it related to Ireland. Malmesbury says that young women were frequently taken to market in their pregnancy that they might bring a better price.[a] The Ecclesiastical Council of Armagh, held in 1171, passed a resolution to liberate English slaves.

LETTER XX.

The Comptroller of the Castle, and the Regent of the Constablery of Bourdeaux, to King Henry the Fifth. A. D. 1419.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4602, *art.* 35. *from* MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. v.]

*** Among the more curious Volumes which formerly existed in the Cottonian Collection, were the Manuscripts, Caligula D. v. and Caligula

[a] The whole of Malmesbury's Account deserves the reader's perusal:

"Vicus est maritimus Brichstou dictus, a quo recto cursu in Hiberniam transmittitur, ideoque illius terræ barbariei accommodus. Hujus indigenæ cum cæteris ex Angliâ causâ mercimonii sæpe in Hiberniam annavigant. Ab his Wlstanus morem vetustissimum sustulit, qui sic animis eorum occalluerat, ut nec Dei amor nec Regis Willielmi hactenus eum abolere potuissent. Homines enim ex omni Angliâ coemptos majoris spe quæstûs in Hiberniam distrahebant; ancillasque priùs ludibrio lecti habitas jamque prægnantes venum proponebant. Videres et gemeres concatenatos funibus miserorum ordines et utriusque sexûs adolescentes; qui liberali formâ, ætate integrâ barbaris miserationi essent; cotidie prostitui, cotidie venditari. Facinus execrandum, dedecus miserabile, nec belluini affectus memores homines, necessitudines suas, ipsum postremò sanguinem suum servituti addicere. Hunc tam inveteratum morem et a proavis in nepotes transfusum Wlstanus, ut dixi, paulatim delevit. Sciens enim cervicositatem eorum non facile flecti, sæpe circa eos duobus mensibus sæpe tribus mansitabat; omni Dominicâ eò veniens, et divinæ prædicationis semina spargens. Quæ adeò per intervalla temporum apud eos convaluere; ut non solum renuntiarent vitio, sed ad idem faciendum cæteris per Angliam essent exemplo." Malmesb. de Vita S. Wlstani Episc. Wigorn. cap. xx. Angl. Sacr.

D. VI.; the former almost entirely, the latter in part only, destroyed in the Fire at Westminster in 1731. The first of these was intitled, in Smith's Catalogue, "Transacta inter Angliam et Franciam a primo anno R. Henrici V. ad annum decimum quartum R. Henrici VI.:" the second, "Transacta inter Angliam et Franciam ab anno 1485 ad A.D. 1518." Fortunately, many of the more important Letters included in their contents were transcribed among the Papers prepared for, but not inserted in Rymer's Fœdera. From these Transcripts, this, and some other Letters have been copied in the present Collection.

MOSTE hy and moste myzty Prynce and oure soveraine lige Lord, We zoure humble liges and servitours, with all subjection and humilitee We recomend us to zoure roial Majestee. To the wyche like for to wyt that we have resseyved zoure roial Lettres the xij. day of this present Month; in the wyche ze charged me Robert Holme zour humble servant and governour of zoure Office of the Conestablerie at Bourdeaux, that y schold ordeyne certeyn sommes of the revenuz of zoure Castel for eche of thilke persones that schold come to zoure roiall presence raisonablely aftyr thair estates. And to the complement[a] of zoure said charge zoure Conseill and we have doon owre entier peyne and diligence. Bot treuly the revenuz of zoure said Castel at Bourdeux ben so pore and of so litel valour[b] that the too[c] parties of the charges ordinaries may nouzt be paied; and that is bycause of the gret franchise and other donacions roialx of zoure patrymonye zeven by zoure roialx progenitours, the whilk

[a] completion, fulfillment. [b] valure, value. [c] two.

God assoill, as zoure roiall Majestie schal be more playnly enformed at alle tymes that hit be plesyng to zoure Hynesse to comande us.

And more oure moste hy and most myzty Prince, like unto zoure roial Majestee to wyt, that we hav zeven certein credence to Bernard Augeryn clerc of zoure Consell at Bourdeux, berer of this Lettre; to whom like unto zoure Hynesse to zeve audience; and that ze comand hym to enforme zou treuly of the estat of this Contre, and alleso of the governance of zoure Officers in this[a] parties whilk arn[b] proffitable for zou.

Other tythands[c] we can nouzt write at this tyme to zoure roial Majestee, but we byseche God Almyzty that he have evremore zoure roial persone in hys kepyng with encrece [of] all manere of Honours, after that zoure noble and roial hert desires.

Wryten in haste at zoure Citee of Bourdeaux the xx[th] day of Marche.

Zoure humble liges and servitours

J. BOWET *Con^lour of zour Castel of Bord.*

and

ROBERT HOLME *Regent of the Constablerye of Bourdeux.*[d]

[a] these, are [c] tidings.

[d] A note in an old hand, says "The King received this 'Letter' at Vernon, 9 April, 1419."

LETTER XXI.

John Alcetre to King Henry the Fifth, upon the progress made in building a Ship for the King at Bayonne, A. D. 1419.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4902, art. 45. *from* MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. v.]

*** The Kings of England, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Centuries had occasionally large Fleets under their command, but they consisted of merchant ships only, gathered from the different ports of England, or hired from foreign countries; those of England on such emergencies being pressed with their crews into the King's service.

In 1304 the largest ship of war in England, according to Dr. Henry, had a crew of only forty men; and in the fleet of Edward the Third at the Siege of Calais, in 1346, the complement of each ship upon an average must have been under twenty men.[a]

Henry the Fifth, as will presently be seen, was the first of our Kings who established a permanent navy.

The following Letter from John Alcetre details minutely the progress of certain workmen at Bayonne in constructing a vessel of considerable size, which the King had ordered to be built. Bayonne was then the last town in the Duchy of Aquitaine.[b] The Mayor and Corporation had contracted with the King for the completion of this Vessel within a certain time; but the writer of the Letter thinks it could not be ready, and that it would take even four or five years to finish. The Ship, as the timbers had been laid down, was *a hundred and eighty-six feet in length.*

From a passage in a rhyming Pamphlet written in 1433, printed by Hakluyt, intitled "The Libel of English Policie," it appears that Henry the Fifth built other large ships:

> "And if I should conclude all by the King
> Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,
> When at Hampton *he made the great* DROMONS
> Which passed other great Ships of all the Commons;
> The *Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the Holy Ghost,*
> And other moe, which as now be lost."

[a] The following was the equipment of the ship, which in 1406, 7 Hen. IVth. carried Philippa, his sister, Queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, to her home. Two guns, forty pounds of powder, forty stones for guns, forty tampons, four touches, one mallet, two fire pans, forty pavys, twenty-four bows, and forty sheaf of arrows. Rym. Fœd. tom. viii. p. 447.

[b] It continued in the hands of the English from the year 1155 to 1453.

The Ships of the King and those of the Commons are here distinguished; the ROYAL NAVY, from the vessels which were supplied by the sea-ports, or hired abroad.

The entire List of Henry's own Ships, in the fourth year of his reign, is preserved among the Proceedings of his Council. They consisted of three Vessels of the greater size, three Carracks, eight Barges, and ten Balingers or smaller Barges.[a]

In a document of the antecedent year, among the same Proceedings of Council, we have the pay of the Officers and Sailors of the King's great Ships, employed in keeping the narrow seas. The Admiral received for a quarter of a year and thirty-nine days' service, wages for fifty men at arms at xij^{d}. per day each; and for a hundred and fifty bowmen, at vj^{d}. a day each; making a total of 812*l.* 10*s.* For the wages during the same time of four masters of respective ships, and two hundred and fifty mariners, the former at vj^{d}. a day, and the mariners at iij^{d}. he received 819*l.* 5*s.*[b]

The name of DROMONS given in the "Libel of English Policie" to the great ships of Henry the Fifth, requires explanation. The term was

[a] "LES NOMIS DES NIEFS ET VESSEAUX DU ROY.

Grands Niefs.
- La Trinitee,
- Le Seint Espirit,
- iij. Carrakes,
- Le Nicholas,

Barges.
- Le Katerine,
- Le Gabriel,
- Le Thomas,
- La Marie,
- Le Roode Cog,
- La petite Trinitee,
- ij. autres,

Balingers.
- Le George,
- La Ave,
- Le Gabriel de Hareflieu,
- Le Cracchere,
- Le James,
- Le Cigne,
- Le petit Johan,
- Le Nicholas,
- ij. autres.

MS. Cotton. Cleop. F. III. fol. 152 b.

[b] *"Custodia Maris."*

"Admirallo domini Regis super salva custodia maris pro vadiis l. hominum ad arma, quolibet ad xij^{d}. et cl. sagittar. quolibet ad vj^{d}. per diem, a festo Nativitatis Sancti Joh. Bapt. accidente xxiiij^{to}. die Junii anno tertio usque ad festum omnium Sanctorum prox. sequen. per unum quarterium et xxxix. dies, 812*l.* 10*s.*

"Et pro vadiis iiij^{or}. magistrorum et ccl. marinariorum pro quatuor navibus super custodia Maris per tempus prædictum, quolibet magistro ad vj^{d}. per diem et quolibet marinario ad iij^{d}. per diem per tempus prædictum, 819*l.* 5*s.*"

Ibid. fol. 141.

of a date much earlier than the fifteenth Century, and seems to have been borrowed from the Saracens. It meant Ships of the largest size and strongest construction. The famous Ship which was taken by King Richard the First near the Port of Acon, and which contained no fewer than fifteen hundred men, is so named by Matthew Paris. "Navis quædam permaxima, quam DROMUNDAM appellant, missa a Saladino fratre Salaadini Soldano Babyloniæ, de civitate Baruch, immensis referta divitiis. Erat in illa ignis Græcus, serpentumque ignotorum plurima vasa plena; et bellatores mille quingenti."[a]

Most excellent, most hiest, myghtiest Prynce and most Soverayne Lord, all maner of low supjection afore sayde. Lykyth yt to youre ryall Majeste to wete the governance and the makyng of youre Shippe at Bayon. At the makyng of this Letter yt was in this estate, that ys to wetyng xxxvj. strakys[b] in hyth y bordyd, on the weche strakys byth y layde xj. bemys; the mast beme ys yn leynthe xlvj. comyn fete, and the beme of the hameron afore ys in leynthe xxxix. fete, and the beme of the hameron by hynde is in leynthe xxxiij. fete; fro the onemost ende of the Stemne in to the Poste by hynd ys in leynthe a hondryd iiij^{xx}. and vj. fete; and the Stemne ys in hithe iiij^{xx}. and xvj. fete; and the Post xlviij. fete; and the Kele ys in leynthe a hondryd and xij. fete: but he is y rotyt,[c] and must be chaungyd.

Also lykyth yt to youre ryall Mageste to wete that yowre Shippe wolle nat be redy at the terme that they have by hote[d] yow; and, by that y can se, nat this

[a] Mat. Par. Hist. edit. 1684, p. 136.
[b] stretchers or stretching pieces.
[c] rotted.
[d] promised.

iiij. or v. yeres hereaftyr. For the Mayre and his consortes havyth y rendyd yowre size[a] iiij[li]. of the lb at yowre grete dampnage, and hare[b] profyte: for yt is worth iij.[c] so muche as they payth. Therfore like as y have wrete to yowre ryall Mageste here afore, for and all the money that comyth of yowre syze[a] schold go to the Shippes workys, yowre Shippe wold be sone a redy, and zit of that litill somme that youre syze[a] ys, y rendyd, fore they takyth therof to thare owne use. And in this degre yowre workys of yowre Shippe mow nat gon forthe, and by eny thyng that y can se they wolle lefe of the makyng of yowre Shippe in short tyme, but yf ye make othyr ordynaunce therto.

Allso lyketh yt to yowre ryall Mageste to wete that they mow nat excuse ham[d] by Bord ne Tymbyr, for they mow have y now in the Contrey, as gode as eny may be; and as touchyng to Carpenters they mow have y now yf they wolde, but they leten ham[d] go where they wollyth.

Allso lykyth yt to yowre ryal Mageste to wete that y mote nat knowe of no costages ne dispensys, ne yn what maner yowre money ys by sette,[e] but y lyke as ham selfen[f] lust. And y levyng all myne occupacyons besy me, and travayle me abowte the makyng of yowre Shippe.

Most excellent, most hiest, mightiest Prince and

[a] assize. [b] their. [c] *i. e.* thrice. [d] them. [e] beset. [f] themselves.

most Soverayné Lord, Almyghty Jhesus have you in his kepyng.

Wrete at Bayon the xxv. day of Averell,

By youre pore supjecte and trew lege man

JOHN ALCETRE.

The following very curious Letter, preserved in the Cottonian Manuscript Vesp. C. XII. fol. 127, from an English agent in Spain to one of the Chancellors of Henry the Fifth, forms, in part, a comment upon that of John Alcetre; and seems to have been written somewhere near the same time. It shows that the desire of Henry the Fifth to have vessels of a large size was not unnoticed by the Spaniards, who appear to have offered to him several, particularly two Carracks, one of which is described as of a tonnage equal to *fourteen hundred*, and the other to *ten hundred* BOATS. The Carrack is supposed to have obtained its name from its capacity for carriage. Du Cange says, "CARRICA, *Carica*, navigii species, navis oneraria, Gallis *Vaisseau de charge*, unde forte nomen."

"Worchepfful and reverent Sir, y commande[a] me to yow in that y can or may. Lyke you to wete tythynges[b] off thys Contre. At the makyng off thys Lettre the Kyng of Arragon holdeth hys Parlament in the regne off Valenc', lyche as ys the maner off the Contre. And as late tyme passyd ther cam here a knyt Sir Emond Torrelles, with iiij. galeys armed, out of Prowenc';[c] and y wente to the Consell, seyyng to hem, off the ben Vaylenc' that the Kyng off Engelond, and off the pes that ys be twene the remes, askyng off hem that they scholde areste hem and tarye hem; for y seyde that yff they com up the cost off Engelond noyse scholde be gret that the Catalans werred a yen the Kyng, hyt myht turne to gret hevynesse and chong' of hertes; seyying with thys wordes hou gret tresure hyt ys to the Hous off Arragon to haff lyge[d] and frenchep with the Kyng off Engelond. They tok thys wordes to gode entent, and sente to the Kyng Mons[r]. Beleg Berdesyn, rehersyng thys wordes be for seyd. The Kyng and hys Consell a sented well that the[e] scholde be arest; but he ne londed not, and as they answerd me hyt was a yenes the wille off the Kynge and off al the Reme, for the wych y asked off hem that they

[a] commend. [b] tidings. [c] Provence. [d] league. [e] they.

wold wryte to the Kynges Consell, esqusyng hem that hyt was not her well, in saffyng of the saff condytes be twe the twęye Kinges. Thys Lettres y myht haffe yffe y wolde aske hem.

" Alsso lyke you to wete, that y haff sent you Lettres off thys mater beforetyme, that yff hyt lyke the Kyng he may haffe here x or xij Galeys armed, or mo; for as hyt hys told me that ther ys wrete lettres to Barssylon for to haffe on off ther capytaynes into Engelond, ffor to make confirmation of thys matier. Alsso, yff be plessyng to thę Kyng, ther be twey new Carrakas of makyng at Bartholem, the on of xiiij.C. botts that other off x.C. botts. He may haffe hem yff hyt lyke hym. Alsso Monsre Petro de Lima ys in Penysoula as a man that fewe speke off. Other tythynges be non at thys tyme; but I preye you beth gode mayster and frend to my wyff and chyldren: and yff ther be eny servyse that y may do to yowre lykyng, y am redy with all that y can; and y prey to the Holy Trinyte kepe you body and soule, and saff oure Kyng and all hys. Wrete at Valenc' the xxiij. day off Jull.

Par tout vostre

TOMA . . . . . ."

LETTER XXII.

John de Assheton to King Henry Vth. a Letter of Intelligence, written apparently about A. D. 1419.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4603, art. 71. *from* CALIG. D. V.]

To oure Souverain Lord the King.

Moste hegh and myghty Prince, moste dowtewyse and soverayne Lorde, I zoure humble man and servaunt me recomaunde loghlye unto zoure hegh and worshipfull Astate.

Moste hegh and myghty Prince, like zow to witte that I am enfourmet that after that the Erle of Aumarlle and the Frenssh men that weren with him were departed out of the Mounte, and hadde taken

with thaim the Tresour that ther was; in departynge of this good emonge thaim ther fel gret debate, and was gret fighte, and that thay kepe this good emonge thaim selven and bien avysed to sende the Dolfyn no parte therof. And . . . er y . . . Cappin^e. of the Mounte, on hegh the Bastarde of Osbute, and be nethe in the Toun ys the Baron of Byars, John Paynell, Guillaume de la Lisserne, and John de le Hay; and abofe and benethe, as I am lered, ther passes not an C. men of defence, and thair Cisterne in ye qwich yair water is wonte to be kepped ys brosten, so that for lakke of water and of wode thai myght abide noon, gret distresse and sege were layde aboute thaim.

Also the Abbot of the Mounte has sent for safe-condute for to come to zour obeysshans; and the wyf of Mayster Raoul Le Sage has a safe condute for to come with Mayster Raoul when that he comes on his Ambassate,[a] and I wayte after thaim evere day.

Also the Bretonnes that bien at the Sege of Saint Urstheaux were fallene upon with the Erl brother of Pentever, and ther was taken and slayn an C. of his men with the Bretonnes; and as zet we here no styrrynge of the Frenssh Men to Constantin Ward; and brigauntez were never so fewe in thoo partyez.

And I am lered that Pyket and his wyf bien floghen out of Aungers unto the Rochell, for feer of the Dol-

[a] Ralph de Sage was employed as an ambassador to Britany in 1420. Rym. Fœd. tom. x. pp. 2, 4, 8.

fyn; for he hade sende to Aungers for to have arested Pyket.

And in Aungers ys no stuffe of Men of Armez as I am lered, save a lonely of the burgeysez; and the Cuntre ys so stroyet in yᵉ Dolfyns Men and the Scottes, that evere man that comes of thoo coostez says he yrkes right sore with thair lyf and desyren to be at zoure obeysshans.

Moste Hegh and Myghty Prince most doutewyse and soverayne Lorde, the blessed Trinite have zow in his kepinge and send zow the Victorye of zoure Enemys.

Writen At Costaunce yᵉ xv. Day of Junii.

Zoure humble man & servaunt

JOHN OF ASSHETON.

LETTER XXIII.

Sir William Bardolph to King Henry the Fifth, relating to the Government of Calais.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. XIII. fol. 31. *Orig.*]

*** Sir William Bardolph was in the train of Henry the Fifth when he was captain of Calais in the reign of his father.[a] In the 4th of Henry Vth. Sir William Bardolph had the keeping of the Castle of Sandgate in Picardy.[b] In the next year we find him Lieutenant of Calais.[c] The Cottonian Manuscript, Calig. D. v. formerly contained a Letter of his, in French, to the Council of Henry the Fifth, giving a wretched

[a] Rolles Franç. i. 207. [b] Rot. Gascon. 4 Hen. V. m. 14. Oct. 9.
[c] MS. Cotton. Galba B. i. art. 124, 126, 128, 133.

account of the wants and arrears of the Garrison of Calais, dated Nov. 12th, 5 Hen. Vth. he speaks of "la grande meschevouse necessitè, hideus, piteus noisse, et dolereuse murmure, quell continuelment, de jour en jour, se aient par descha entre-nous humbles lieges et poures souldeiers du Roy nôtre tres redoute soverain Seigneur, pour la grand importable disaise et grevousse pouverte que nous sustiennons, *en deffaulte de paiement de nos gages ore de ces deux ans ici passees.*"[a]

Among the Norman Rolls of the 6th of Hen. Vth. there is one which indicates that he had a character for severity. "De potestate commissa Willielmo Bardolf militi, *ad suspendendum omnes per collum* qui falsò se extraxerunt ab exercitu Regis."[b]

The Letter here prefaced, is a fair specimen of a Gentleman's style in the reign of Henry the Vth.

My most i dowtyd gracious sovereygne liege Lord, al so lowly an mekly as in ony wise I can or may I recomaunde me un to zowr hy nobil and gràtious Lordschip, un to the qwiche please yt to understonde, that in as myche as the governaunce of the Frynche party her has ben and ys, duryng the abstinence of werr of viij. dayys weynyng in to thys tyme, merveylous & wndirfully unstabil in diverse wise, to gret hyndryng and harm of zowr liege puple, qwiche wer to longe and to combrous to declar zow be writyng with owtyn I cowde better endyte. I beseche un to zowr seyd Lordschip that in tho maths[c] and other towching governaunce of this zowr Town and Marchis, that yt plese zow to her, sey, and speke in that party zowr servaunt Jon Hunden brynger of this Letter. Aftir the articlys qwiche I have deliveryd hym, wretin with myn owne hand, and them graciowsly consyderyd

[a] MS. Donat. Mus. Brit. 4601. art. 141. [b] Rot. Norm. 6 Hen. V. p. 2, m. 3.
[c] these matters.

be zowr hy noblesse, I may therupon have word, be the same Hunden, of zowr goode plesaunce, qwow[a] I chal be governyd; and my most i dowtyd gracious sovereygne liege Lord, no more write I at this tyme un to zowr hy Wy[a]messe,[b] but that I beseche Al myghty God ever to have zow in hys holy kepynge, and zeve zow ryght goode lyf and longe parfet helthe of body, and victory of zowr enemys, for his goode Grace. Wretyn at zowr town of Caleys upon Corpus Christi day.

Zowr owne powr
soget
W. BARDOLPH.

LETTER XXIV.

T. F. to his Fellows and Friends in England, from Evreux, A. D. 1420.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4601, art. 156. *from the* COTTONIAN MS. CALIG. D. V.]

*** There is an Instrument in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ix. p. 701, from the Norman Rolls, 6 Hen. V. p. 2, m. 23. dated 28 Feb. 1419. "de confirmatione Tractatus cum Dauphino super COLLOQUIO PERSONALI, Teste Rege apud Castrum Rothomagi," to which in all probability one part of this Letter alludes. The "Rule Regent," saith the writer, "hath broke the surety abovesaid, and made the King a BEAU NIENT." None of our Historians appear to notice this occurrence.

. . . . . welle beloved Felous & Freendys I grete yow welle, dowyng yow

[a] how. [b] Highness.

to understond that al be hit that the Dolphin, Regent of France, made grete instance by hys ambassiatours, sondry tymes, for to have hadde personele speche w^t^ the Kyng for the good of pees betwene bothe Reaumes; and at the last the Kyng grantyd hys desir for to do so yn sum covenable place betwene Evereux and Drewys, as the ambassiatours of bothe parties myghten have accordet apon; and that that aforsaide personele metyng shulde have be do the iij Sunday of Lent, at hys owne desir and instance made therfore; makyng seuretee by hys othe and hys lettres y seeled therapon to kepe that day. The forsaide Rewle Regent hathe broke the seuretee abovesaide, and made the Kyng *a beau nient:*[a] so that ther may none hope be hadde as yette of pees. God putte honde therto when hys wil ys. Cirtes alle the ambassadors, that we dele wyth, ben yncongrue, that is to say, yn olde maner of speche in Englond, "they ben double and fals:" whyth whiche maner of men I prey God lete never no trewe mon be coupled with.

And so nowe men suppose that the Kyng wil fro henys forthe make werre yn France; for Normandie is alle hys, except Gysors, Euere, the Castelle Gaylard,[b] and the Roche. The whiche shulle ben sette a werke yn hast for to lerne to do as other have done, beter than they be by mony foold.

[a] This is, in fact, an Italian phrase: he made the King a *bello niento*. He made him a cypher: he stultified him.

[b] The Castle of Galiard was subsequently surrendered to the Duke of Exeter.

More write y not at thys tyme; bote y prey yow ye prey for us that we may come sone, oute of thys unlusty soundyours lyf, yn to the lyf of Englond. And Crist have yow yn hys holy kepyng.

Wrete at Euereux the Monday next byfore Passion Sunday. Y have wrete to yow oft tyme yn the Seege tyme of Rouen,[a] and sethe[b] the yeeldyng therof; bote y not[c] whether my Lettres alle come to yow or no.

By

T. F.

One of the last sentences, "More write I not at this time, but I pray ye pray for us that we may come soon out of this unlusty souldiers life into the life of England," forms an energetic comment upon the hardships endured by the soldiers in Henry the Fifth's campaigns. The common people in England, too, showed some discontent at the glory which the King and his army were in search of. The Donation Manuscript in the Museum, 4601, art. 232. contains the following copy of "an Information against one Glomyng for words spoken by him in September 1419, relating to the Siege of Rouen:

"Raulin Kyrkeby of Sandewych shipman, and William Buryman of Ertyngdon, witnessyt and recordyt that Harry Glomyng haberdasher axyd of the same Raulyn where the King of Ingelond lay; and the forsayd Raulyn ansuerde and seyde that he lay atte Sege before Roon. 'What doth he there,' seyde the forseyde Harry? 'for and y were there with iij. M. men of armys,' seyde the same Harry, 'y wolde breke his Sege, and make hem of Roon dokke hys tayle.' And fordermore he sayde that he vere not able to abyde there, were hit that the Duk of

[a] This notice of the Siege of Rouen, affords an opportunity of commenting upon a short passage of Monstrelet. That writer says that when Henry the Fifth made his entry into Rouen Jan. 19th, 1419-20, "he was followed by a page mounted on a beautiful horse, bearing a lance, at the end of which, near the point, was fastened a Fox's brush by way of streamer, which afforded *great matter of remark among the wise heads.*"

Elmham, and Stowe after him, give the explanation of this. In 1414, Henry the Fifth "kept his Lent in the castle of Kenilworth, and caused an arbour to be planted in the marsh there for his pleasure, amongst the thorns and bushes, where a Fox before had harboured: *which Fox* HE KILLED, being a thing then thought to prognosticate that he should expel *the crafty deceit of the* FRENCH KING."

[b] since. [c] know not.

Borgoyne kepte his enemyes fro hym. And he seyde thys wordys atte Ertyngdon, in the house of the forseyde William Burgman, a morwe after Seynt Mathew the Apostel, the sexte yere of owre Lorde the Kyng that now ys, that God save."

Upon the back of the original of this Information, a memorandum is made, that upon the 24th of October following, the said Glomyng, for uttering these words, was committed by the King's council to the prison of the Fleet.

LETTER XXV.

Heretong Clux to King Henry the Fifth, upon the Emperor Sigismund's setting out to repress the Hussites in Bohemia.

[ROT. ANTIQ. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. XIII. 30. *Orig.*]

*** Heretong, Hortang, or Hortank van Clux, from his name was a Fleming. An Inspeximus of the 1st of Henry the Fifth announces him as a knight, and states that he had served with King Henry the Fourth in Wales.[a] The Cottonian Manuscript Vespas. F. 1. fol. 2. contains King Henry the Fourth's Instructions to him and John Stokes, dated at Windsor, March 2d, 1411, when they went ambassadors to Sigismund as King of Hungary. In 1414 he was sent again to the Court of Sigismund, and was in the same year with King Henry the Fifth in France;[b] he was afterwards sent as minister from England at different times to the King of Arragon, the Princes of Almaigne, the Hanse Towns, and the Genoese.[c]

The mention of Sigismund's succeeding to the Crown of Bohemia upon the death of his brother Wenceslaus, fixes the time of writing the present letter either to the end of 1419, or the beginning of 1420, when Heretong Clux was again the resident at his court.

Sigismund had had the crown of Hungary from 1386; and became Emperor in 1410. The world has been long acquainted with his treachery to Huss. After Huss's execution, while the Council of Constance at which

[a] Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 44. [b] Ibid. pp. 155, 356.
[c] Ibid. pp. 410, 412, 413, 605.

he presided was still sitting, he repaired to England; and was received there with every honor due to the first Sovereign of Europe. His reception, indeed, was of so flattering a kind that, as we gather from the present Letter, he entertained the wish to visit it again: but the Hussites kept him employed. The words of the Letter as they regard the feeling of Bohemia are remarkable. The power of the barons against him was great, "but the *greatest power* was *of the* COMMONERS." Putter says that Sigismund undertook no less than six campaigns against the Hussites without effect. They were headed by the memorable Zisca. Sigismund did not obtain the quiet possession of Bohemia till 1436; and he died at Znaym Dec. 9th, 1437.[a]

The last mention, which occurs in Rymer's Fœdera, of Heretong Clux is in the 18th of Hen. VIth. when he was sent upon an embassy from England to the Emperor and the Archbishop of Cologne.[b]

The same Roll which contains this Letter preserves the Form for Sigismund's Reception in England in 1416, and an original Order of the Council of Henry the Fifth, signed by its different members, for giving rewards to his ambassadors.

Moste worshippful and reverende Lorde I recommaunde me unto zour graciouse Lordschip, and os[c] touching Lebard's message wilk[d] he brohte to the Emperor, I have sped hym in all the haste that I myht, so that the Emperor hase fulfilde all zo[r] desire os[c] of that Message. And if it like zo[r] graciouse Lordschip for to knaw of my governaunce sen tyme that I sent zow laste worde be mayster John Stokes be muthe[e] and noht be letter: and also a fore be the Provinciale Diprant, and Hans of Serwse be letter also: and after mayster Johan Stokes[f] wasse gone, the Emperor sayde

[a] See Putter's Developement of the Constitution of the Germanic Empire, transl. by Dornford, vol. i. p. 331. Art de verifier les Dates, Fol. Par. tom. ii. 1787. p. 462.

[b] Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 709. [c] as. [d] which. [e] mouth.

[f] John Stoke, Stokes, or Stokys, LLD. is mentioned in numerous embassies from King Henry Vth. See Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. pp. 419, 431, 550, 626, 627, 628, 632, 646, 654, 716, 786.

me planley that I sulde noht gone frome hym un to tyme that I sulde wyte wedir he myhte come to zow this somer or noht; and ther opon he hase halden me all way un-to this tyme. And now I knawe well he may noht come, for this cause, that many of the grett lordis of Beheme that ware sworne of his Counsell sen that his Brother dyde, and hade his livere, han required hym for to late hem halde the sayme beleve that thei ben in, the qwilk Articls [and] Letter I have closed in this Letter qwilk thei have sente to the Empror: and ther opon he sent hem worde that rader [a] he wolde be dede or he wolde susten hem in thare Malesse: and thei hane ansferd hym agayne, that thei will rether [a] dye than gon [b] frome thare beleve. And like zour graciouse Lordschip for to knawe that ther is a grete power of hem, bothe of Lordys, Knyths, and Squiers, bot the grettiste power is of Communers: and therfore the Empror gederse all the power that he may, for to gone in to Beheme opon hem: and knawse no nother, ne noman thet is a boute hym, bot that he is lyke to have a grete batell with hem: and therfore the Empror hase charged me habyde and see a nende, lyke os [c] he dyde qwen he wente oute of Hungare a ganes the Turkys. And therfore I be seke zow of zour graciouse Lordschip, als lauley and als mekely os [c] any poure servaunt may don un to his Lorde, that ze be noht displesed of my long habydyng frome zow; for I think

[a] rather. [b] go. [c] as.

for to come unto zow in a shorte tyme be the grace of Gode, and bringe zow redy worde of all maner thing qwilk I kane noht wryte unto zour graciouse Lordschip atte this tyme; for I wold noht byde so longe frome zow, savyng that I here suche tydans that all zour frendis be glade therof, of zow and zoure werres, wham God save and kepe alle way from evell. Writen atte Swines atte departyng of the Empror goynge in to Beheme in the feste of Sayn Vitale martir.

Be zour poure Servaunt

HERETONG CLUX.

Serenissimo Principi Henrico, Franciæ Angliæque Regi, et Domino Hiberniæ, Domino meo metuendissimo.

DR. CHANDLER informed the Society of Antiquaries, February 5th, 1761, that in the Public Library at Edinburgh was preserved the original Protest of the Bohemian and Hungarian Lords against the breach of faith by the Council of Constance, in imprisoning and burning John Huss and Jerome of Prague, contrary to the safeguard given to them by the Emperor for their appearance at the Council.

By the kindness of Dr. Jamieson, the Editor is enabled to state that this document is still preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. The names of the protesting Lords and Gentlemen are all written round the margin, and the Seal of each person impressed on a cake of wax annexed by a label to the respective name. Of the mode in which this deed found its way to the archives of the University no account can be given.

LETTER XXVI.

Richard Knygtle and Robert Whitgrave to King Henry Vth. from Harfleur, respecting his Treasure.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4600. *art.* 114. *from* MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. V.]

*** Monstrelet describing the surrender of Harfleur to Henry the Fifth, Sept. 26th. 1415, says, "In regard to the wealth found there, it was immense, and appertained to the King, who distributed it among such as he pleased." The Letter, however, here presented, could not have been written before 1420. The wealth it mentions was upon the point of being removed to Rouen.

Stowe, under the year 1419, says, that after the Siege of Rouen was over, King Henry "to relieve this oppressed City, ordained it to be the chief Chamber of all Normandy, and ordained his *Exchequer*, his TREASURY, and his *Coinage* to be kept in the same."

MOST soverayne and gracious Lord; and hit lyke zow to wete, we ben in Harfleu whith zoure goode; that is in Gold coyned xxx.M.li; in Sylver coyned MM.li; and in wegges of silver drawyng by estymation to halfe a tonne tyght: and other serteyne godes of zoure Chapell, of zoure Warderobe, and of zoure Housold: the wheche we dar not remewe[a] unto the tyme we have comaundement from zow how we shall governe hit, wheder by water or by londe, and how we shal be condyt[b] to Rone.[c] And Criste for his mercy save zow, kepe zow, and spede zow.

Wryten at Harfleu, xix[th]. day of May.

Zoure servauntes, RICHARD KNYGTLE
and ROBARD WHITGREVE,[d]
Countours of zoure Receyte.

[a] remove. [b] conducted. [c] Rouen.

[d] Robert Whitgreve occurs as one of the Tellers of the Exchequer in England 10th. Hen. V. 1422. Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 215.

LETTER XXVII.

Sir Hugh Luttrell to King Henry the Fifth.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4602. *art.* 118. *from the* COTTONIAN MS. CALIG. D. V.]

*** Sir Hugh Luttrell, the writer of this Letter, was the Lieutenant of Harfleur, in which office he occurs in 1419;[a] though the contents of this Letter fix its date to the 8th Hen. V. A. D. 1421.

Sir Hugh was of Minehed in Somersetshire. In 1399 1st Hen. IVth. he was in the suite of Peter Courtney captain of Calais: and, in 1402, was twice employed by Henry the Fourth in negociations with France. In 1404 he held the Office of Mayor of Bourdeaux.[b]

WEL, excellent, and myghtyfull Prince, my redoubtabel and souverain Lord, I zowr meke and trewe lige[c] recommande me unto zowr heye and soveraine noblesce as mekely as I can or may. Unto the whyche lyke, to wyte, that wyth all lowlynesse, I have y receyved zowr worshipfull Lettres the whiche of zowr benigne Grace ze have enclyned zow to sende unto me; not having reward unto my simplenesse of my persone, but to the exaltation of zowr heye discretion; in as much as I am unworthy therto: be the which I have undurstonde that the Creatour of all thyng, of hise heygh pourveance, hath used zow in herte to bryng zow unto the conclusion of perpetual pes betux[d] the

[a] Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 674.
[b] See the Norman and French Rolls.
[c] liege.
[d] betwixt.

two Remes that ever owt of mende of ony Cronicles han ben in discention, schewyng zow fortune to conclude and bring at an ende that noo man kynde myght hyr bifore[a] have i wroght: thankyng God wyth meke herte that he hath i send unto me that grace to abyde that tyme for to seye hyt, as for the gretist gladnesse and consolation that ever come unto my herte: not dredyng in my self that he that hath send zow that grace in so schort a tyme, schal send zow moch more in tyme comyng. And as towchyng my simple persone, zif zow lyke to wyte, at the makyng of this Lettre I was desesed of my persone be the hond of owr Creatour, in so moch that I may not excerce myne Office as my will were, as zowr trewe knyght S[r]. John Colville and Master Pierres your phisician[b] schull enfourme zow more playnely than I may write unto zow at this tyme; for in this sith[c] in the bailliage of Caux, ne in the march of Picard, blessed be God, ther ys no steryng of none evyl doers, saf[d] byonde the rivere of Sayne, toward the basse of Normandy of certains brigaunts.[e] And when God of hys grace fowch saf to bryng me owt of hise prison, I schal gouverne me in the exercise of myn office at zowr worship, and as I am i hold for to doo.

And as towchyng my worshipfull lord the Duke of

[a] here before.

[b] Piers or Peter de Alcobasse, whose services as Physician were rewarded 1st Hen. VI. with a prebendal stall at Windsor. See Rym. Fœd. vol. x. p. 263.

[c] time. [d] save. [e] brigands.

Bedford zowr brother, atte hys arrivayl I rood agayn hym to the Kyef de Caux, and told hym the poverte of this Cõuntre. Wher uppon he gouverned hym and all zour men in hise company in swych maner, that all thyse countre blesseth hym and hyse meyny in swych wyse, that I have ihad noo complainte of ham eftir hyse partyng. Wherfore, be my simple discretion, he ys thankworthy, the which I remete unto zowr hygh discretion.

More can not I say at this tyme; but I pray unto God of hys grace encresce zow in worship, prosperite, and perfit joye, and send zow good lif, and long lastyng. I write at zour town of Harefleu the vj^te. of June.

Zowr meke lyge

HUGH LUTTRELL.

A treshault et tresexcellent Prince nôtre tresredoubte et tres-souverain S^r. le Roy de France et d'Engleterre.

LETTER XXVIII.

Letter of the Tenants of Lord Powys respecting the capture of Sir John Oldcastle.

[CLAUS. 88. HEN. 5. m. 24. dors. MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4602. *art.* 179.]

*** The circumstances attending the execution of Sir John Oldcastle, in 1418, as a follower of Wicliffe's doctrines, are, no doubt, known to

most of the readers of this Work. They would not have been even alluded to here, had not a Letter occurred which at least settles a discrepancy, if it does not correct an error in some of our Historians. Even the judicious Lingard says, "In the Rolls, the capture of Oldcastle seems to be attributed to LORD POWIS; but Hearne has published a Writ, dated Dec. 1st. in which it is expressly asserted that he was taken by SIR EDWARD CHARLTON."[a]

The fact was, as we learn from the following Letter, written by the very persons who took Sir John Oldcastle, that *Sir Edward Charlton* and *Lord Powis* were the same person. It is evident too that the Lord Powis had the reward conceded to him personally, which the King had offered for the apprehension of Sir John, and agreed privately to satisfy the claim of his tenants.

Sir John Oldcastle as appears from Pat. 5 Hen. V. m. 10. dors. was first secured in Pole, that is Powis Castle, whence he was brought to London before the Council.

WE Jevan and Gruffuth, sones of Gruffuth ap Jevan ap Madoc ap Gwennoys, of Powys Londe, gentilmen, Hoel ap Gruffith ap David ap Madoc, and Dero ap Jevan ap Jorum ap Ada of the same Lond, zemen,[b] tenauntz to sire Edward Charletoun knyght Lord of Powys, and takeres of Sir John Oldcastell, that was myscreant and unboxome to the lawe of God, and traitour convicte to oure gracious Soveraigne Lord and his Henry kyng of Englond aftyr the conquest the Vth. thonken[c] our said Soveraigne Lord in as lowely wyse, and with as hole hert as we in oure simple manere con deuyse, that hit hath liked him of his gracious goodenesse for to remembre his notarie proclamation made thorgh his Roialme by his hie commaundement of the

[a] Tit. Liv. Hearne, p. 219. [b] ycomen. [c] thanking.

guerdon and reward by his hie discression appoynted to hym that mizt have that fortune and grace to ben takers of the said John Oldcastell, for the which guerdoun and reward oure said Lord of Powys, by the graciouse governance and assent of oure said Soveraigne Lord, hase compownyd with us and fynaly accorded, so that we and everych of us ben fully satisfied and agreond, åfter oure owne desire and plaisir, in pleyn accomplisement and excusation of the Proclamation aforsaide; of the wych guerdoun and rewarde we hold us fynaly agrent[a] and content for evermore.

In witnessyng wherof to this oure present Letters we have ysette oure Seales in the hie and noble presence of oure said Soveraigne Lord, and also of the hie and myghty Prince the Duc of Gloucestre brothir unto oure Soveraigne Lord byforsaid, and also of Umfray Erle of Stafford, John Lord Fornyvall, and of othir mony mo worthy and gret, of diverses degrees, at that tyme they beyng present. Y made at Shrosbery the iiijth day of March the yere of oure said Soveraigne Lord the viijth.[b]

Sir John Oldcastle's execution was attended with circumstances of unusual barbarity. He was burnt, suspended by chains from a gallows.

[a] agreant, agreed.

[b] Then follows the endorsement,

"Et Memorandum quod prædicti Jevan et Gruffuth fil. Gruffuth ap Jevan ap Gwennoys de Powys land, gentilmen, Hoel ap Gr'. ap David ap Mad. et Dero ap Jevan ap Jorum ap Ada, de Powys land, venerunt coram Johanne de Talbot Domino de Fournyvall apud Watlesburgh, vicesimo die Aprilis anno præsenti, virtute Brevis Domini Regis, dedimus potestatem eidem Johanni ac Abbati beati Petri Salop. directi, et in filaciis Cancellar. ejusdem Domini Regis de hoc anno residentis, et recognoverunt scriptum prædictum et omnia contenta in eodem in forma prædicta."

Till burning became a more frequent punishment for heretics, the mode appears to have varied. In one instance, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the sufferer was inclosed in a cask. Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry the Fifth, was present at the execution, and hearing the wretched lowing of the victim in the barrel, ordered the fire to be drawn away and the cask to be opened, offering the half dead sufferer his life and a daily allowance of threepence from the Exchequer, if he would recant. The heretic refused. He was again inclosed in his cask, and consumed. The details of this singular execution are given in the note below from Walsingham.[a] Henry the Eighth and Queen Mary chained their sufferers openly to a stake.

LETTER XXIX.

Richard Clifford bishop of London, to King Henry the Vth. concerning an intended Embassy to the Pope.

[MS. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. CLEOP. E. II. fol. 359. *Orig.*]

*** Richard Clifford was translated from the See of Worcester to London, Oct. 13th, 1407. He died Aug. 20th, 1421. In 1417, he was, with several other English bishops, at the Council of Constance. The date of this Letter is fixed to the last year of the bishop's life, dame Joan North, mentioned in it, being in that year consecrated Abbess of Syon.[b]

Syon, it will be remembered, was of the foundation of King Henry the Fifth, in 1414.

[a] It was in the year 1410. He says, "Facto Parliamento Londiniis, sub diebus Quadragesimæ, quidam laicus, arte faber, dum pertinaciter defendit hanc hæresim, quòd videlicet non est corpus Christi quod sacramentaliter tractatur in Ecclesia, sed res quædam inanimata, pejor bufone vel aranea, quæ sunt animalia animata, nec vellet opinionem istam deserere, traditus est judicio seculari. Cumque damnatus esset, et *in Smithfeld* INCLUDENDUS DOLIO, dominus princeps Henricus (Regis primogenitus) qui tunc affuit, ad eum accessit, consuluit, mouuit ut resipisceret: sed neglexit (perditus nebulo) tanti Principis monita, et elegit potiùs se comburendum, quam sacramento vivifico deferre reverentiam. *Quapropter* DOLIO INCLUDITUR, *affligitur a devorante flamma,* MUGITQUE *miserabiliter inter incendiam:* clamore cujus horribili dominus Princeps motus, jussit ignis materiam ab eo subtrahi, ardorem longius amoveri. Consolatur penè mortuum, promittans nunc etiam victurum se, et consecuturum veniam, ac singulis diebus vitæ suæ (si recipisceret) de fisco regio tres denarios percepturum, sed miser (refocillato spiritu) respuit tantæ dignationis oblationem, (non dubium quin maligno spiritu induraturus). Quamobrem jussit dominus Princeps eum ITERUM RECLUDI DOLIO, gratiam nullam consecuturum de reliquo, unde contigit quòd illic ad favillas ursit ardalio, miserabiliter mortuus in peccato suo." Edit. 1574. p. 421.

[b] MS. Cole, Brit. Mus. vol. XXVII. fol. 214 b.

Ryght excellent and most Cristene Prince and graciouse lige Lord, I youre symple preest and bedeman recomaunde me to youre roial Majeste as lowly as I kan or may, desiryng alwey with al myn herte to here glad and graciouse tydyngges of the hele and good speed of your graciouse persone, and of alle my lordys, and of alle othere that ben in youre honorable servise; the whiche God of his grete grace kepe in hele, joy, and prosperite, with victory of alle youre enemys as youre Hyghnesse kan best devise. Thankyng yow lowly with al myn herte of the grete grace that it liked youre seyd Hyghnesse to do to me, now late foryevyng me graciously the eschapes of the clerkes convictes out of my prison of Storteford. And for I suffise not to thanke yow fully ther of, I beseche God Almyghty that he thanke yow ther that it may be most profitable to yow bothe of soule and body. Ryght excellent Lord, it liked to youre seyd Hyghnesse not longe agon to wryte to me youre symple preest, that it was youre will that I scholde made me redy for to wende with othere certeyn persones in youre honorable Ambassiate to oure holy fadir the Pope, of the whiche matire I have alwey sitthe abyde, and redy with Goddys grace schal be at alle tymes to obbeye youre noble comaundementys, as youre worschipful knyght sire John Colvyle, berere of this lettre, kan schewe to youre seyd Hyghnesse. And also ryght graciouse Lord, like it yow to weten that, on Sunday the fyft day of May, I was at youre Hows of

Syon, and there confermed the eleccions of dame Jhone North abbesse, and of sire Thomas Fyschburne, my welbelovyd cousyn, confessour of youre seyd Hows; and that same day I blessyd and stallyd the forseyd abbesse; the whiche persones I truste, by Goddys grace, schal moche profite in that place in that holy company bothe of men and of women, the whiche God of his mercy graunte. And graciouse lige Lord like it to youre seyd Highnesse to lete me wete youre graciouse will, by sum that cometh hyder, touchyng my goyng, to the whiche will I schal alwey with Goddys grace lowly obbeye. Right excellent and most Cristene Prince and graciouse lige Lord, the holy Trinite have yow ever in his kepyng, and sende yow alwey gloriouse victory of alle youre enemys. Wryten in hast at London the xxth. day of May.

Youre symple preest and bedeman,

RICHARD *Bysshop of London.*

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGNS OF

HENRY THE SIXTH

AND

EDWARD THE FOURTH.

THE Letters which have occurred to the Editor of these Volumes of the reigns of HENRY *the* SIXTH and EDWARD *the* FOURTH, are comparatively few; though several will be found amongst them which lend no ordinary light to History. This eventful period, though removed from us scarcely more than three Centuries, is still among the darkest on our Annals. Its records are confused, mutilated, and disjointed. They who wrote History in it, had no talents for the task; and there was a ferocity abroad among the partizans of both the rival Houses, which prevented many from even assembling the materials of History.

Of MARGARET OF ANJOU, the Queen of Henry the Sixth, no Letters have occurred: though it is probable that some must exist, either in English or French. The only memorials of this remarkable woman to be found in the British Museum, are, a Book which was presented to her by Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and the original Minutes of the Agreement for her ransom, signed by Louis the XIth, in 1475. The Book is ornamented with a limning of the presentation of it to her and the King, and has her device the *marguerite*, or daisy, frequently repeated on its margins, with the following Sonnet addressed to her by the Earl of Shrewsbury, at the bottom of the first leaf:

" Mon seul desir
Au Roy et Vous,
Et bien servir
Jusqu'au mourir.
Ce sachent tous.
Mon seul desir
Au Roy et Vous."

The Agreement for the ransom of Margaret of Anjou, dated Oct. 2, 1475, stiles her simply " Dame Marguerite, fille de Roy de Secille, a present detenue par le Roy d'Angleterre, et par son ordonnance empeschée." Baudier states that this unfortunate heroine died of grief in 1482, in the parish of Dampierre near Saumur, at the house of Francis de la Vignolle seigneur de Moraens, who had been one of the chief officers in the household of her father King René. She was buried in the magnificent tomb of her father, but without any epitaph or inscription peculiar to her: but what was wanting to her honour in this respect, he adds, was in some measure supplied in a different way; for every year, upon the feast of All Saints, the chapter of St. Maurice, after vespers of the dead, made a semicircular procession about the tomb, and sang a *Subvenite* for the Queen.[a] This custom, the Editor is assured, was continued till the breaking out of the French Revolution.

[a] Baudier's Hist. of the Calamities of Margaret of Anjou Queen of England. 8° Lond. 1737, pp. 191, 192.

LETTER XXX.

Thomas Hostel to King Henry the Sixth, for alms.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4603. *art.* 100. A. D. 1422.]

*** A Letter from a wounded Soldier, who had fought at Azincourt, to the Council of his Sovereign, for the King was then an infant, has a claim upon the feelings of the generous.

At that period hospitals for decayed soldiers were unknown; standing armies not having been established, the soldier's character was not distinct from that of the citizen; when disabled in war, his only resource was the receipt of alms.

Of THOMAS HOSTEL it is probable no other memorial now exists.

The taking of the Carracks, mentioned in this Letter, occurred at the relief of Harfleur in 1416. Hardyng the chronicler, who was likewise there, has a chapter "Of the battle of the Seine, and of the Carracks there taken in the Sea afore the mouth of Seine." Hall speaking of this Engagement, says, "After long fight the Victory fell to the Englishmen, and they toke and sunk almost the whole Navy of France, in the which were many ships, hulks, and carracks, to the number of five hundred, of the which *three great Carracks* were sent into England."

To the Kyng oure Soverain Lord

BESECHITH mekely youre poure liegeman and humble horatour Thomas Hostell, that in consideration of his service doon to your noble progenitours of ful blessid memory Kyng Henrj the iiij[th]. and Kyng Henri the fift, whoos soules God assoille; being at the Siege of Harflewe, there smyten with a springolt[a] through the hede, lesing his oon ye,[b] and his cheke boon broken;

[a] The springolt was a dart, thrown from the Espringal, and had brass plates, instead of feathers, to make its flight steady.

[b] eye.

also at the Bataille of Agingcourt, and after at the takyng of the Carrakes on the See, there with a gadde of yren his plates smyten in sondre, and sore hurt, maymed, and wounded, by meane whereof he being sore febeled and debrused, now falle to greet age and poverty; gretly endetted; and may not helpe himself; havyng not wherewith to be susteyned ne releved but of menes[a] gracious almesse; and being for his said service never yit recompensed ne rewarded, it plese your high and excellent Grace, the premises tenderly considered, of your benigne pitee and grace, to releve and refresh your said pouere Oratour, as it shal plese you, with your most gratious Almesse at the reverence of God and in werk of charitee; and he shal devoutly pray for the soules of your said noble Progenitours, and for your moost noble and high estate.

LETTER XXXI.

Sir Thomas Rokeby to Humphry Duke of Gloucester, A. D. 1423. *respecting his Covenant of military Service with King Henry the Fifth.*

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4603. *art.* 121.]

*** Written Indentures of military Service are of frequent occurrence in the reign of Henry the Fifth; and show the manner in which an Army was raised and kept together for a foreign expedition.

[a] mens.

Contracts were made by the Keeper of the Privy Seal with different Lords and Gentlemen, who bound themselves to serve with so many men at arms and so many archers for a year, reckoning from the day on which they first mustered in the field. The pay, or security for its amount, was directed to be delivered to the contracting parties a quarter of a year in advance: and if all was not actually paid at the beginning of the fourth quarter, the engagement was to cease.

From the Letter here copied, it should seem that upon the part of the Crown, in Henry the Fifth's reign, the latter portion of the covenant was not always rigidly fulfilled.

To the hyghe and myghty Prince the Duk of Glouc. Protectour of Ynglond, and the right wyse and discrete Counseyl of our Lord the Kyng.

BESECHETH your humble servaunt Thomas Rokeby knyght, that ther he has ben withholde and of retenue for a yere wyt the full worthy and noble Kyng Henry, fader to our soveraigne liege Lord that nowe ys, in his viage into hys Realme of France & Normandie, the yer of his regne the iiijth. als it, be[a] hys endenture made, betwix the forsayd noble Kyng and the forsayd Thomas Rokeby, pleinli appiers; and his forsayd retenu for the yer forsayd pleinly execute and fulfellid, and so forth be comandement of the forsayd ful noble Kyng his service and devure continued fro yere to yer, unto four yer was nere spendid and passid, als it be[a] certeins endentures made also betwix the forsayd Kyng and the forsayd Thomas Rokeby pleinly ap-

[a] by.

piers; for the whilk time a gret part of the wagez of the forsayd Thomas is behynde and nowth[a] payd hym to gret hynderyng and annentifyng[b]: bot if your graciouse Lordshippis and help in this mater to him be shewyd, lyke it to zour wyser discretions and graciouses Lordshippis, to comande the Tresorer and Barons of the Cheker[c] of our Lord Kyng to here his Acompt in this matere and certifie yow of the end of the forsayd Acompt: and aftre that to ordeigne that the forsayd Thomas myght be agreed of the areragez of his forsayd wagez als reson and conscience askys in discharging of the forsayd ful noble Kyng, and for the dede of Charite.

THE request of this Letter was complied with. On the 15th of May 1423, the Council directed their warrant to the Treasurer of the Exchequer to ascertain the amount due to the Petitioner, whose claim was satisfied upon the 18th.

Indentures of foreign military service were of a date much earlier than the fifteenth Century. Among the Cottonian Charters[d] there is a short deed of Agreement, in old French, of Adam de Gesemue with Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward the First, in 1270, to go with him to the Holy Land and remain with him one year, the Prince giving him for the service of himself and suite six hundred marks.

In domestic war, upon invasion or rebellion, the process was shorter. The King addressed his letters of summons to his military tenants, and to the sheriffs of counties. An array was made, and all met upon a fixed day at a rendezvous. The absentees, as in the instance of Owen Glyndowr, were considered disobedient subjects.

[a] nought.
[b] thwarting, or going against.
[c] exchequer.
[d] Cart. antiq. Cotton. xxix. 65.

LETTER XXXII.

King Henry the Sixth to his uncle John Duke of Bedford.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4603. *art.* 112.]

RIGHT trusti and most beloved Uncle we grete yow wel with al our herte, and signifie unto yow as for your consolation that at the tyme of the writing of these, thanked be God, we were in perfite hele of persone, tristing to our Lord that as we desire in semblable wise ye so be.

And for as moche as we and our Counsail hier been acertained, as wel be the effecte and evidence of your werkes as be the credible reportes and writinges maad unto us and to our said Counsail, fro tyme to tyme, of the singulier diligence and the ful notable service thatye do on unto us in gouvernance of oure Reaume of Fraunce, as wel as of our Duchie of Normandie, we thanke our Lord therof and yow as hertily as we kan, willing and also praying yow alwey to continue evyr fro wel to better, as we ne doute in no wise with the Grace of oure Lord, but that ye so wol: and considering that in acomplishing of your desire we send now unto yow the B. of L.[a] also oure diere and wel-

[a] Bishop of London.

beloved cosin the Eril[a] Marshal, and the Lord Wilby, with notable puissaunce of yis oure Reaume of Englond.

We desire and pray yow, at thaire comyng unto yow, ye receyve and demene hem, and also ordeine hem to be tretid and demenyd benyngly and favorably, so that they ne have no resonable cause of grutching, greve, nor complaint, but that thay and thaire felaship have cause to rejoise hem and contente hem of thaire comyng unto yow in our servise, and that as wel thay as other of oure sugites hiere take therbe[b] corage and wille to goon thither at al tymes when oure behoof shal asshid.

And as towardes oure bel Uncle of Excestre, whom oure Lord now late visitid with seknesse, blessid mote God be, he is rekiveryd and with his Grace shal be with yow in al goodly haste; whoom and other that we send now unto yow to assiste yow, as for the tyme, in Counsail, we pray yow goodly and effectuelly to hiere in swiche thinges as thay shal avise yow of, fro tyme to tyme, for the worship of God, the goode of us and of yow, and of oure Reaumes and Duchie abovesaid; willing also that ye geve faith and credence to that that the said Bishop of London &c. shal say on to yow on oure behalve: and Almyghty God &c. Yeven at Westmynstre the xv. day of May.

[a] Earl. [b] thereby.

LETTER XXXIII.

Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester to King Henry the Sixth, requesting leave to go on Pilgrimage.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CLEOP. E. III. fol. 30 b. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter was evidently written after the termination of the quarrel between the Bishop and Humphry Duke of Gloucester, in 1426.

Philip Morgan bishop of Ely, whose signature appears to it as one of the Lords of the Council granting its request, received the temporalities of his See on April the 22d in that year; and Beaufort, at the beginning of the next, was created CARDINAL.

It seems probable that upon the reconciliation at the Parliament of Leicester, when each party took the other by the hand, the Bishop, seeing how little chance there was at that time of supplanting the Protector's power, turned his thoughts to the fulfilment of his early Vows of Pilgrimage.

The arrival of the Cardinal's hat, however, induced him to defer them again. He re-assumed his haughty tone;[a] and finding himself placed under the more immediate protection of the Papal See, called and signed himself THE CARDINAL OF ENGLAND;[b] though his real title was that of *Cardinal of St. Eusebius.*

The Council, as the signatures at the bottom of the Letter show, gave him leave to take his journey; and were probably disappointed that he did not pursue it.

[a] The intemperate Letter which brought the Duke of Bedford from France, to adjust the quarrel between the Bishop and the Protector, is printed both by Fabyan and Hall:

"Right high and mighty Prince, and right noble and, after one, levest earthly Lorde, I recommende me unto your Grace with all my harte. And as ye desire the welfare of the Kyng our sovereigne Lorde, and of his realmes of England and of Fraunce, and your owne weal with all yours, hast you hither: for, by my truth, and ye tarry long, *We shall put this lande in a jupardy with a* FELDE, *suche a* BROTHER YOU HAVE HERE; *God make hym a good man.* For your wisedom knoweth that the profite of Fraunce standeth in the welfare of England."—"Written in great hast at London the last day of October, by your true servaunt to my lifes ende,

"HENRY WINCHESTER."

[b] This was his signature also, in public Instruments.

32607

To the King my Souverain Lord.

Besecheth youre humble chappellain Henry Bisshop of Winchestre, that forasmuche as he standeth, and longe hath stande bounde, under a vowe of certain pilgrimages beyond See, havyng of the said pilgrimages right greet charge and conscience, forasmiche as he hath long differred to parfourme them: considered, yif hit like youre Highnesse, youre said humble Chapellains long continuance in youre service, which his intencion hath ben att alle tymes too doo with al trouthe and diligence to his littel poair. Like it youre noble Grace, by the advis of youre Counsail, to graunte youre licence unto youre said humble Chapellain, he, att his owen fredam and libertee, by suffisaunt warrant to be maad hym therupon unto youre Chauncellor by your Lettres of privie Seal, for to mowe passe the See in parfourmyng of the said avowe, and that att such tyme and place, and with such resounable felauship as hym shal good thinke and necessarie.

(Signed below)

JOHAN. H. GLOUCESTER. H. CANTUAR.
J. EBOR. *Canc.* T. EXET. T. DUNELM. P. ELIEN.
J. BATHON. HUNGERFORD. TYPTOT. CROMWEL.

LETTER XXXIV.

William Warbelton to the Duke of Gloucester and the Council, claiming the reward for taking Jack Sharpe.

[CART. ANTIQ. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. IV. 24.]

*** The Persecution of the followers of Wicliff continued in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

Fabyan, in his Chronicles, under the year 1431, says, "Soon upon Easter, the Lord Protector was warned of an assembly of Hereticks at Abyndon; wherefore he sent thither certain persons, or rode thither himself as some writers affirm, and there arrested the bailif of that Town named *William Maundevyle*, a weaver, the which was appointed for a captain of the said hereticks: and for to draw the people unto him, he changed his name, and called himself JAK SHARPE *of Wygmoris lande in Walcs*. But after he was examined, he confessed to have wrought much sorrow against Priests, so that he would have made their heads as chepe as sheeps heads, so that he would have sold iii. for a penny, or x. after some writers. And the same season were taken many of his complices which were sent unto divers prisons. And the said Jak Sharpe was, for his offence, drawen, hanged, and headed at the forenamed town of *Abyndon*, upon the Tuesday in Whitsun week; and his head was sent to London, and there pight upon the bridge: and the other of his fautors were put in execution in divers places and countries to the terror of other."[a]

Stowe, who has followed Fabyan's account nearly in the same words, in his Annals, adds the positive assertion that the Duke of Gloucester went against these hereticks in person.[b]

[a] Fabyan, Chron. edit. 1811, p. 602.

[b] Annals, edit. 1592, p. 601. This Insurrection is also mentioned in Leland's Collectanea, tom. i. p. 491.

To the high and mighty Prince my lord of Gloucestr, and to all the lordes of the Counseil.

BESECHITH William Warbelton esquier, that hit like yor Lordshippes to be remembred of a Proclamacion made on the Kyngs behalf, be the advis of his wise Counseill, for the taking of Jak Sherp, and of the bille casters and kepers, and more over to have in knowelech that the Thorsday at even next before Whitsonday, the said suppliaunt be his frendes was enfoormed howe that oon William Perkyns, which called hym self Jak Sherp, was withdrawe into a certen place in Oxenford, and of whom the saide suppliaunt lete you have knowelech before the saide proclamacion; wherefore the said suppliant incontenent, the same nyght, sent his servaunts to the Chauncellor of Oxenford and his commissarie, and also to the baillifs of the same Towne, chargyng hem on the kings behalfe to putte the said William Perkyns under arest, and kepe him saufly, without baile or maunprise, unto the Kyng, be thadvis of you my Lordes, had other wise purveied for his deliveraunce: be the which sendyng, the saide William Perkyns that same nyght was arest, and kept til execucion was doon of hym after his desert: for which cause, as well as for other labours and costes that he hadde to help cese the riot that was like to a growe in that behalfe, in as much as

lay to his symple power, humblely besechith yor gra-ciouse lordshippes to ordeyne hym a rewarde after yor wise discrecions like as you semeth he hath deserved.

Here follow, in their respective hands-writing, the names of the Lords who were sitting in Council when the letter was received:

" H. GLOUCESTRE. H. CANTUAR.
S. DUNELM. J. ROFFEN. W. LINCOLN.
J. EBOR. CANC.
J. NORFF. J. BATHON."

and at the back is an Order for a reward of twenty pounds to be given to Warbelton:

" XXIXo. die Novembr. Ao. xo. apud Westm. concess. fuit infrascript. suppl. warant. Thes. Camerar. de solvendo sibi xxli. virtute pr . . al fact. ex causa infrascript. presentibus dominis infra scriptis."

HERE we have no mention of William Mandeville the bailif of Abingdon. On the contrary, Jack Sharpe's true name is stated to have been WILLIAM PERKINS: and he was taken, not at Abingdon, but at Oxford. The truth of Warbelton's narrative of this Insurrection must be considered more authentic than Fabyan's, since even the Protector himself (of whose going against the Insurgents nothing is said) signs at the head of the Council for the reward.

William Warbelton, the writer of this Letter, was made constable of the Castle of Odiham in Hampshire in 1457.[a]

LETTER XXXV.

Letter of Warrant from King Henry the VIth. to the Bishop of Bath, his Chancellor, in 1441, *concerning the exile of Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester.*

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. NUM. 1. *art.* 33. *Orig.*]

*** Fabyan and Stow supply the best preface to this Letter. " This xixth yere," says Fabyan, " began murmur and grudge to break at

[a] Pat. 35 Hen. VI. p. 2.

large, that before had been kept in mewe, atwene persons near about the King and his uncle the famous Humphry duke of Glouceşter and Protector of the land; again whom divers conjectures were attempted afar, which after were set near to him, so that they left not till they had brought him unto his confusion. And first, this year, dame Eleanor Cobham, whom he was too familiar with or she were to him married, was arrested of certain points of treason, and thereupon by examination convict, and lastly demed to dwell as an outlaw in the Isle of Man, under the ward of Sir Thomas Stanley knight: and soon after were arrested as aiders and counsellors of the foresaid duchess, master Thomas Southwell a canon of St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, master John Hum a chaplain of the said duchess, and master Roger Bolyngbroke a man expert in necromancy, and a woman called Margery Jourdemayne surnamed the witch of Eye beside Winchester: to whose charge it was laid that these four persons should, at the request of the said duchess, devise an image of wax like unto the King, the which image they dealt so with, that by their devilish incantations and sorcery they intended to bring out of life, little and little, the King's person, as they little and little consumed that image: for the which treason and other, finally they were convict and adjudged to die: but master Thomas Southwell died in the Tower of London the night before he should have been judged on that morn; as in the next year following shall be declared."[a]

Stowe says, "The 9th of November dame Elianor appeared before the Archbyshop and other, in the chapel of St. Stephen Westminster, and received her penance which she performed.

"On Monday the 13th. of November, she came from Westminster by water, and landed at the Temple bridge, from whence with a taper of waxe of two pound in her hand, she went through Flecte streete, hoodless, save a kerchief, to Pauls, where she offered her taper at the high altar. On the Wednesday next, she landed at the Swan in Thames street, and then went through Bridge street, Grace-church street, straight to Leaden-hall, and so to Christ Church by Aldgate. On Friday she landed at Queen-hithe, and so went through Cheape to Saynt Michaels in Cornhill, in form aforesaid. At all which times, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and crafts of London received her and accompanied her. This being done, she was committed to the ward of Sir Thomas Stanley, wherein she remained during her life;" first "in the castle of Chester, having yearly a hundred marks assigned for her finding. In the 22d of Henry the Sixth she was removed to Kenilworth."[b]

[a] Fabyan's Chron. edit. 1811. p. 614.

[b] Stow, Ann. edit. 1632. p. 382.

By the King.

Reverend Fader in God, right trusty and right welbeloved we grete you wel. And for asmoch as we have ordeined oure trusty and welbeloved knight Sir Thomas Stanley, countrollour of oure householde, to have the keping of Alianore Cobham late called Duchesse of Gloucestr, and, accompanied with certain personnes of our householde, to lede hir into the parties of Chesshire, where as she shal abide, We wol and charge you that under oure Seel, being in youre warde, ye do make oure Writtes and Commissions in deue fourme, as many and such as the cas shal require, for the Shirefs of the shires that she shal passe thourgh, and for other personnes of the same shire, as many as shal be thought necessary, to be awayting and assisting unto the conducting of hir; and that ye charge them that shal lede hir forth, that thei lette not, for sekenesse or ony dissimulacion of hir, to carie hir thedir as we have appointed. And that ye faille not herof as we truste you. Yeven under our Signet at our manoir of Shene the xix. day of Januer.

"Mem. quod ista litera liberata fuit Cancellar. Angl. apud Westm. xx°. die Januar. anno infrascripto exequent."

The treatment of "Dame Eleanor Cobham" as she was called, convinced the Duke of Gloucester that his influence had declined. Grafton says, he "took all things pacyently and said little."

The death of the Duke of Gloucester at St. Edmundsbury, in 1447, is one of the numerous problems of our History.

A Manuscript Roll in the Cottonian Collection[a] gives the names of those of his retinue who were seized and imprisoned. The reader will probably wonder to see so many Welshmen amongst them, but, by the Inquisition taken after his death it appears that the Duke died seised of the castle and lordship of Pembroke, of the castles and lordships of Tenby and Kilgaran, of the commots of Estrelawe, Treyne, and Seynclere, and of the castle and lordship of Llanstephan, all in the marches of Wales.[b]

"These ben the Names of the Duke of Glowcett'rs maynye[c] that wer taken at Bery and sent into dyverse places to preson:

"Sir Henr. Owgan,
Thomas Harbert,
Thomas Wyryot,
Griffith ap David ap Thomas,
Yevan ap Jankyn, LL. } to London.

Jankyn Thawe,
Jankyn Loyde Wogan,
John Wogan, } to Barkamstede.

William Wogan,
Evan ap Jankyn ap Rise,
Will. ap John ap David ap Th. Lloyd, } to Redyng.

Will. Wogan,
Will. ap Thomas son of Robert ap Ryse,
Henry Wogan, } to Ledys.

Alon appe Meredith ap Philip Madock,
Ries app DD. app Thomas,
Thomas Jankyne appe Ries, } to Northwich.

Oven Don,
Hugo Gunere,
Hugo Bennooth, } to Wallyngford.

John Eyvon,
Walter Burthull,
Hugo ap Thomas, } to Gilford.

John app Ries,
Ric. ap Robert,
Will. ap John, } to Southehampton.

[a] Rot. antiq. Cotton. II. 23. [b] Esc. 25 Hen. VI. n. 26.
[c] The suite, or train, which attended him.

David ap Thomas,
Hug. ap Thomas,
Griffith ap Nicollasson, } in to the Kings Benche.

Sir Robert Wer,
Sir Roger Chamberleyn,
Sir John Cheyne, } to Brystowe.

Richard Middelton,
Henr. Chechilley,
Arteys,
Richard Nodam, } to Wynchestr.

Morgan,
Bokeland,
Melborn, } to Notyngham.

Bassyngborn,
Wyele,
Shaffeld, } to Northampton."

Fabyan, having mentioned the interment of the Duke of Gloucester at St. Albans, says, "And when this noble Prince was thus interred, five persons of his housholde, that is to say, Sir Roger Chamberlayne knight, Myddelton, Herbarde, and Arthure, esquires, and one Richard Nedam yeoman, were sent unto London, and there arraigned and judged to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; of the which sentence, drawing and hanging were put in execution: but when they were cut down to be quartered, the marquis of Suffolk there being present, shewed the Kings charter for them, and so were delivered, to the great rejoicing of the multitude of the people there being present."[a]

Of the particular charge against Herbarde, called Thomas Harbert in the List of Names above, see the Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, p. 290 b.

[a] Fabyan, Chron. edit. 1811. p. 619.

LETTER XXXVI.

John Earl of Oxford to King Henry the Sixth, requesting a Licence for a Ship, of which he was owner, to carry Pilgrims.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4609. *art.* 78.]

*** We have here an instance, in the fifteenth Century, of a nobleman engaging in the speculations of trade: for, strange as it may sound, Pilgrims, at this time, were really an article of exportation. Ships were every year loaded from different ports with cargoes of these deluded wanderers, who carried out with them large sums of money to defray the expences of their journey. One historian assures us that licences were granted by King Henry the Sixth, in 1434, for the exportation of no less a number than two thousand four hundred and thirty three pilgrims to the same place of destination as the Earl of Oxford's ship, the Shrine of ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELLA. The gain to the owners who carried such numbers could not have been small.

To the King our Soverain Lord.

PLESE hit unto your Royall Mageste of your grace, especiallie to graunt unto John Erle of Oxford, owner under God of a Shipp called the Jesus of Orwelle, that the said Shipp, without any fyn or fee to be paid unto you, may have licence, in the worship of God and of Saint James, to make the furst viage unto St. James, with als many persones as therinne wolle thiderward take their passage. Consideryng that by cause of the losse of another Shipp, which never made Reys in lak of power and strength, the said Erle hath don upon

the said Shipp gret cost to make it the more able to doo you service; and to withstand your enemyes in tyme of nede.

The following indorsement shows that the Licence was obtained: "Donne a nr'e Palais de Westm. le xxviij. jour de Feverer, l'an, &c. xxiij."

The real or supposed body of St. James was discovered at Compostella, in Gallicia, in 797; and became almost immediately an object of pilgrimage.

In the twelfth century we find several instances of visitors from England. Brompton gives a particular account of Henry the son of Henry the Second's proposal to go there, to escape his father's superintendance: and in another page he mentions Henry the Second's own preparations for a similar visit. Dugdale, in his Baronage, notices Bertram de Verdon's pilgrimage there in the same reign. John of Gaunt is said to have been numerously attended to Compostella in 1386, when he claimed the crown of Spain: and we find the fashion of visiting St. James's Shrine continued till far in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

The Harleian Manuscript 433, foll. 171, 171 b, 172 b, 174. contains numerous Commissions of Ships to go to St. James in the 1st of Richard the Third. One owner, Thomas Rogers, had a licence for four ships at once. But at this time, we find no Noblemen named as owners.

From the name of the Saint the pilgrims to Compostella were called JACOBITES. The journey was enjoined to some as a punishment, and then the pilgrim carried iron shackles with him; but in most cases it was voluntary; and the devotees in many instances united trade with their devotion.

The Cottonian Manuscript Vesp. F. III. fol. 25 b. contains an original Letter from John VI. Duke of Britany, to King Henry the Fifth, requesting the release of some Pilgrims who had been taken with a Vessel which was going to St. James, dated Nantes, December 31st, 1416.

LETTER XXXVII.

Thomas Canynges and William Hulyn, sheriffs of London, to King Henry the Sixth, praying remuneration for their expences in disposing of the bodies of Mortimer and other traitors, after the rebellion of 1450.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4610. *art.* 176.]

*** The Rebellion of the Commons of Kent, in 1450, is enlarged upon by most of our Historians, though none of them seem to be quite certain of the real name of the Captain.

Hall and Grafton, in speaking of the traitor Cade, say, he was entised to take upon him the name of JOHN MORTYMER, although his name was John Cade:[a] Fabyan, that *the Commons named him* Mortimer and cosen to the Duke of York, though of most he was named Jak Cade:[b] Leland, that he was an Irishman who named himself Mortimer:[c] and Stowe, that his name was Cade, though by some called John Amendeall:[d] while a roll of the time of Henry the Sixth, in the Cottonian Library, at the end of a list of the persons indicted for this Rebellion at Rochester, says he was otherwise called "Mr. John Aylmere, physician," and that he had wedded the daughter of an esquire.[e]

[a] Halle, Chron. edit. 1548, fol. 159. Grafton, p. 610.

[b] Fabyan, edit. 1811, p. 622.

[c] Lel. Collectan. tom. i. p. 495. from a manuscript Chronicle.

[d] Annals, edit. 1632, p. 388.

[e] "These ben the Namys that were indicted at Rowchester afore the Cardynall of York, Bysshop of Cant'bury, and the Duke of Bokyngham, &c. in the feste of the Assumption of our Lady & festo Laurencii Anno r. r. Henr. xxix°.

"John Sutton de Duddeley in com. Stafford, alias dict. John Sutton miles de London.

"John Trevelioun nuper de London Armig.

"John Say nuper de London Armig.

"Alicia de la Poole nuper uxor Willielmi Poole Duc. de Suff. nuper de Ewelme in comitat. Oxn.

"Johannes Polsford nuper de London armig.

"Thomas Kent de London gentylman, alias dict. T. K. clericus Consilii domini Regis.

It is not unworthy of observation that the rebels of this period expected popularity from connecting their Insurrections with any name belonging to the House of York. Jack Sharp was of *Wigmore's land* in Wales: and Jack Cade was a *Mortimer*, the cousin to the Duke of York.

Fabyan, noticing the death of Cade, and the bringing of his body to Southwark, says, "Upon the morrow the dead corps was drawn through the high streets of the city unto Newgate, and there headed and quartered; whose head was then sent to London Bridge, and his four quarters were sent *to four sundry Towns of* KENT." According to the present Letter, and we must take it as authentic, one quarter was delivered to the constable of the Hundred of Black-heath, and the others to the Cities of Norwich, Salisbury, and Gloucester, where, it may be presumed, rebellion had either risen, or was expected.[a]

To the Kyng oure Souveraygn Lord.

BESECHEN mekely youre pouer Lieges, Thomas

"John Penycok nuper de London armig.
"Thomas Hoo de Hastyng in com. Sussex miles of. . . .
"Reginaldus abbas Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ of. . . .
"Jacobus Fynys dominus de Say.
"T. Stanley miles.
"Edmund Hongurford of. . . .
"William Minors armig.
"Edmund Hampdene miles.
"John Hall armig.
"Thomas Daniell armig.
"Thomas Thorpp gentilman.
"John Blakeney gentilman.
"Dn's Johannes Forskow of. . miles.
"Johannes Gargraon.
"Walt. Harp Epūs Norwic.
"Rich. Nevile Dominus de Ryvers.
"Robert Manfeld armig.
"Maister John Somers.
"Edward Grymston armig.
"Willūs Booth Episcopus Cestriæ.
"Johannes Stanley armig.
"Palsmer.
"Tressam.
"Fraumpage. Hampton esquier Rest.
"Gryswold. Gargrave in the Towr.

"This was the name of the Capteyne of Kente John Cade alias dict. Mr. JOHN AYLEMERE *ffysyssyon*: and he was gayly be seyn in skarlet, *and wedded a squier dowghter of Taundede.*"

[a] One Robert Ponynges, late of Southwark, is named in Pat. 36th Hen. VI. p. 2, m. 12. as having officiated in the capacities of sword-bearer and carver to the traitor and tyrant John Cade.

Canynges and William Hulyn late Shireffes of youre Citee of London, to concidre that wher as by your commandement diverse and severell writtes have be directed unto them undre youre Grete Seall commandyng hem such tyme as they occupied the seyd office by oon of your seyd writtes, to send and delyver a quarter of oon Nicolas Jakes atteynt of high Treson to the Maire and Bailliefs of youre Citee of Chichestre in the Countee of Sussex; and by another of the said writtes to send and deliver another quarter of the seyd Nicolas Jakes to the Bailliefs of Roochestre in the Shire of Kent; and another to Portesmouth; and other quarter to Colchestre. And by another of youre sayd writtes to send and delyver the heed of oon Thomas Cheyny, feyning him self an heremite, cleped Blew berd,[a] atteynt of high treson, to the Maire and Bailliefes of youre Citee of Canterbury. And by another of youre sayd writtes to sett up a quarter of the sayd traytour cleped Blewberd upon a gate of London, and to send and delyver another quarter of the same traytour to the Sheriefes of youre Citee of Norwich, and to send and delyver two other quarters of the same traytour to the Wardens of youre V. portes, or to their Lefftenauntes. And by another of your said writtes to drawe the body of another traytour callyng him self John Rammesey wyne drawer, and to send

[a] Stowe, in his Annals, calls him Thany. He says, "The 9th. of February Thomas Thany, otherwise called Blewbeard, a fuller, was taken besides Canterbury for raising of a rebellion, who was hanged and quartered."

and delyver a quarter of hym to Stamford, and another quarter of him to Covyntre, and another quarter of hym to Newbury, and another quarter of hym to Wynchestre. And also by other severell youre writtes commandyng them to sett up iij. severell heedes of the persones abovesayd upon London Brugge. And by another of youre seyd writtes to do drawe the body of a grete traytour namyng him self Mortymer uppon an hurdull by the stretes of your Citee of London, and his head to set on London Brugge. And by another of your seyd writtes to send and delyver a quarter of the seyd traytour called Mortymer to the Constables of the hundred of Blakheth. And by another of youre seyd writtes to send and delyver another quarter of the seyd traytour called Mortymer to the Maire and Shireffes of the Citee of Norwich. And by another to send and delyver another quarter of the same traytour to the Maire of the Citee of Salesbury. And another quarter of the same Traytour to the Bailliefs of the Towne of Gloucestre. The which youre high commandements by youre sayd late Shireffs were duly execute to there grete charges and costes, and especially for there cariages of the quarters aforsayd, and the hed of the same Thomas Cheyny; for and by cause that vnneth any persones durst nor wolde take upon hem the caridge of the seyd hed and quarters for doute of her lyves. Plese hit therfore un to youre Highnesse to commande your gracious letters of Pryvy Seall to be

directed to the Tresorer and Barons of your Eschekker, commandyng them that in th' accountes that the seid Thomas and William ben to yeld unto you by cause of ther office, they allowe unto them of the feerme of the same youre Citee, and of the Countee of Middelsex, and of the issues, profitts, and comodites comyng and growyng of the seyd your Citee of London and of the Countee of Midd', all such sommes of money as that they and eyther of them, or any for them or in ther name accountyng for them, wol make feith, that hath be by them and eyther of them spend and paid for and aboute the extention of your commandements above-seyd, and of everich of them, and your seyd besechers shall pray to God for you.

Endorsed.

"De mandato Regis per avisamentum sui Consilii apud Westm. xxviij. Junii Anno xxix."

LANGPORT.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Richard Earl of Salisbury to one of his Receivers, to pay money to his Poulterer in London.

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 37. *Orig.*]

RICHARD Erl of Salisbury to John Musgrave one of our Receivors of diverses of our Lordeshippes,

landes, & tenementes, in the South parties gretinge. We wol & charge you that of the issues & revenues of the same commyng, ye pay to John Kellet of London, pulter, fourty Shillinges for diverses vitail of hym takyn, for the expensez of our houshold halden at London in the moneth of Januar. last past, and this present moneth of Feviare, by warrant of thies our Lettres. Writen under our Signet at London the xvijth day of Fevyere, the yere of the reign of king Henry Sext sith the conquest, xxx.

R. SALISBURY.

LETTER XXXIX.

The chief Persons in the County of Kildare to Richard Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, A. D. 1454. *giving an Account of the condition of the Country.*

[FROM THE ORIG. AMONG THE COTTONIAN CHARTERS.]

*** Stowe says, that in 1449 there "began a new rebellion in Ireland, but Richard Duke of York being sent thither to appease the same, so assuaged the fury of the wild and savage people there, that he wan such favor among them as could never be separated from him and his lineage."

In 1451, he left Ireland to prefer his title to the Crown of England, still retaining his Lieutenancy.

In justice to the Duke of York it must be stated, that the Acts which were passed in the Parliament of Ireland under his administration, reflect the greatest credit on his memory.

RIGHT hye and myghty Prince and oure right gracious lorde, Richard Duke of Yorke, we recomaunde us unto you as louly as we can or may; and please youre gracious Hynes tobe advertised that this lande of Irland was nevir at the poynt fynaly tobe destrued sethen the Conquest of this lande, as it is now, for the trew liege people in this parties dar ne may not appier to the Kyngs oure said soverayn lordes Courtes in the said lande, ne noon other of the trew liege people ther, to go ne ride to market Tounes, ne other places, for dred to be slayne, take, other spouled of thar godes; also the mysrule and mysgovernaunce had, done, and dayly contynued by dyvers gentlemen of the Counte and youre liberte of Mith, the Countes of Kildare and Vriell, and namly of a variance had betwix therle of Wiltesshire lieutenant of this said lande and Thomas fitz Morice of the Geraldynes for the title of the maners of Maynoth and Rathmore in the Counte of Kildare, hath caused more destruccionne in the said Counte of Kildare and liberte of Mith within shorte tyme now late passed, and dayly doth, then was done by Irish ennemys and English rebelles of long tyme befor; and is likly tobe fynall destruccionne of the said Counte of Kildare and liberty of Mith. For Henry Bonyn knyght, constituted Tresurer of the saide lande under the grete Seall of the said lande, assemblyng with hym Edmund Botiller cosyn germayn to the said Erle of Wiltesshire and William

Botiller cosyn to the said Erle, with thar sequele, of the which the moost partie was Irish ennemyes and English rebelles came into the said Counte of Kildare and ther brant and destrued dyvers and many Tounes and paroche Chirches of the trewe liege people, and toke dyvers of them prisoners and spouled them of ther godes. And after the departyre of the said Henry and Edmund, the said Wylliam, abydyng in the said Counte of Kildare, by the avice and consaill of the said Henry and Edmond, did so grete oppressionne in the said Counte of Kildare and in the Counte and Liberte of Mith, that vij^{xx}. Tounes and more which was well enhabite in the feste of Seynt Michell lass passed been now wasted and destrued. And for asmuch as thes parties so destrued, with alytell partie more that remayneth not destrued, in the said Counte of Kildare, is the dayly sustenaunce of the Cite of Dyuelyn, and the destruccionne of hit is like tobe the fynall destruccionne of the said Cite, and the destruccionne of the said Cite wilbe cause of the destruccionne of the said lande, which God defend. The Maire and Comens of the said Cite wrote dyvers tymes unto the right reverend ffader in God John archiebisshop of Ardmagh depute lieutenant to the seid Erle of Wiltesshire to have this remedyed: and at har[a] instance the Kyng oure said Soverayne lordes Consaill here, wrote to the said depute lieutenant for dyvers of thes oppressionns

[a] their.

and mysgovernaunces that they shuld be remedyed, and he remedyed them not. Also the said William Botiller after this destruccionne so done assessed upon smale Villages and Tounes in the said Counte and Liberte of Mith, and in the said County of Kildare, certeyn summes of money to be reryd accordyng to hys wyll, be cause of which he and his men rered in dyvers of the said villages grete and notable summes of money and in dyvers villages toke all the plow-bestes and other bestes of the said villages, and the moost sufficiaunts husbandes, and held tham his prisoners, and ostages ther, to that ende that they shuld make fyne and raunson with hym; upon the which matere the said Maire and Comens compleyned also by mouth to the said Depute, and ther upon he ordeyned no remedy. And for asmuch as all this mysrule done by the seid Henry, Edmond, and William, by statutes and lawes made in the said land as well in the tyme of oure said soverayn lorde as in the tyme of hys noble progenitoures, is treyson, and also who soever of the trewe liege people here, knowyng such mysrule, wold not aryse to arrest such mysdoers, shuld be demed felones, the lordes and gentles of the Counte of Kildare consyderyng the emynent myscheve and ffynall destruccionne of the said Counte, and also the desolacionne of the said Cite, desired the seid Maire and Comens to come into the said Counte of Kildare to put away the said William with his sequele and to

abride all this mysrule; upon the which they went with the said lordes and gentles, and, by the grace of God, avoided all the said mysrule out of the said Counte. Also please your Hynes tobe advertysed that the said Wyllyam Botiller, Nicholas Wogan, David Wogan, and Richard Wogan, came with dyvers Irish ennemys and English rebelles to the Castell of Rathcoffy ther, as Anne Wogan sumtyme wyffe to Oliver Eustace, then beyng the Kynges widue,[a] was dwellyng, and brant the yates of the said place, and toke hir with them and Edward Eustace, son and hire to the said Olyver, and sonne and heire apparant to the said Anne, and of the age of viij. yeres, and yit holdeth them as prysoners, and toke godes and catals of the said Anneis to the value of v.C. marks. Also the said Henry with a grete multitude of people, armed in manere of were,[b] came to Osbornestone in the said Counte, an ther toke and enprisoned Cristofre Flatesby, and destrued and wasted the said Toune, and toke all godes and catals of the said Cristofre to the value of C li.

Besechyng youre gracious remedy and help upon all thees materes; and for asmuch as thees materes been trewe and that it wold please youre Hynes to yeve faith and credence to thes premisses, We NICHOLAS *Priour of the Hous of* CONALL, EDWARD FITZ EUSTACE knyght, PORTREVES *and* COMENS *of the*

[a] disposable in marriage by the King. ED. [b] war.

Naas, PORTREVES *and* COMENS *of Claue*, WILLIAM FITZ EUSTACE, CRISTOFRE FLATESBY, NICHOLAS SUTTON, WALRAN FITZ EUSTACE, CRISTOFRE FITZ EUSTACE, PATRIK FITZ MORICE, JAMES LANG, PHELIP BRYTT, ROBERT FITZ EUSTACE, JOHN SAUUERE, and JOHN WHITE, have put to this oure Seales. Written at the Naas the xxiij. day of Januery the yere of the reane of the King oure Soverayne lord that now is xxxij^to^.

THE Harleian Manuscript num. 433. fol. 265 b. contains the "Instruccions given by Richard the Third to his Counsellor the Bisshop of Enachden, to be shewed on his behalf to his cousyn the Earl of Dessemond and other nobles and gentiles of his land of Ireland," in the first year of his reign. He adverts in them to the government of his father the Duke of York.

"Furst, where the said Bishop hath enfourmed his said Grace of the good toward diposicion and herty desire that the said Erle hath for to doo him pleasur & service to his power, as feithfully and humbly as any other of the Kinges subgiettes, the said Bisshop shall on the kinges behalve thanke him; shewing that aswele for the noblesse of bloode as remembring the manyfold notable service and kindnesse by the Earle's fadre unto the famous Prince the Duc of York the kinges fader, at diverse seasons of grete necessite in thoos parties, to his gret jeopardies and charges doon, causeth the Kinges Grace to accepte and receive him in the tendre favor of the same, trusting of his contynuaunce.

"Also he shall shewe that albeit the fadre of the said Erle, the King than being of yong age, was extorciously slayne and murdred, by colour of the lawes within Irland, by certain persones than havyng the governaunce and rule there, ayenst all manhode, reason, and good conscience; yet notwithstanding that the semblable chaunce was & hapned sithen, within this Reyme of England, aswele of his brother the duc of Clarence, as other his nigh kynnesmen and grete frendes, the Kinges grace alweys contynuath and hath inward compassion of the deth of his said fadre, and is content that his said cousyn now Erle by all ordinate

meanes and due course of the lawes, when it shall lust him at any tyme hereafter to sue or attempt for the punysshement thereof.

" Also the Kinges Grace woll that the said Bisshop have auctorite for to take in the kinges name, of the said Erle, his othe of ligeaunce as other lordes have doon here within this his Reyme, after the fourme here ensuyng. 'I, A. Erle of Dessemond become true and feithfull liegeman unto my soverayn Lord Richard the iij^de. by the grace of God king of England and of Fraunce and lord of Irland and to his heires kinges of England, and to him and theim my feith and treuth shall bere during my lyf naturall, and with him and in his cause and quarell at all tymes shall take his partie, and be redy to leve and dye ayenst all erthly creatures, and utterly endevour me to the resistence and suppressing of his enemyes, rebelles, and traitors, if shall any knowe, to the uttermost of my power, and no thing concele that in any wise may be hurting to his noble and roiall persone; So helpe me God and thise holy evangelyes.'

" Also, the said Bisshop shall shewe unto the said Erle the Kinges gret plesur touching his dealing or entring into any mariage with any blood without th'advise and knowlage of his Grace; considred that the same with all celerite entendeth for to ordeiyne and provide in that behalve for his said cousyn in suche wise and of suche noble blode as shall redounde to his weele and honnor, and of all his frendes and kynnesmen, trusting that the said Erle woll remembre the same and utterly applie him therunto.

" Also the said Bisshop, upon perfite understanding that the said Erle shalbe of hoole entencion and promise to his powair to perfourme the premisses, and over that, utterly to dispose for many consideracions concernyng the Kinges high pleasur and entent, for to *renounce the wering and usage of the* IRISSHE ARRAYE; and from thensforth to geve and applie him self to use the maner of th'apparel for his persone *after the Englishe guyse*, and after the fasshon that the *Kinges Grace sendeth unto him* by the said Bisshop *aswele of gownes, doublettes, hosen, and bonettes*, and soo folowingly in tyme comyng, as the caas or chaunge of the said fasshion shall require; that than the said Bisshop shall deliver unto his said cousyn, in most convenient place and honnorable presence, *the Kinges lyvree*, that is to wite *a* COLER *of* GOLD *of his* DEVISE[a] and other apparell forsaid for his persone.

" Also, above all other thinges, he shall shewe unto the said Erle that the Kinges Grace in no wise woll oure hooly modre the Churche to be wronged, deroged, or prejudiced, neither in liberties, fraunchies, grauntes, custumes, or any other spirituell emolumentes belonging to the same, but

[a] Richard the Third's Cognizance, or Device, was a WHITE BOAR appended to a Collar of Roses and Suns. Such a collar and device is still seen upon a monumental figure, supposed to be a Nevil, in Brancepeth Church in the county of Durham.

that his said cousyn shall maintene, assiste, and support it in every behalve, as justice and right requiereth. And, over that, to see that no maner robberys, spoliacions, oppressions, or extorcions be suffred to be committed amongst any of the kinges subgiettes of thoos parties, of what astate, degree, or condicion soever they be; and in caas any happen to be, to see them so offending utterly to be punyssed according with the Kinges lawes. And that the said Erle shall, by all weys and meanes of pollycie, see and provide that by the passage of the commune high wayes there the kinges subgiettes may be assured to goo and passe without robbing and unlawful letting: so that the said Erle according to the Kinges grete trust, and also to his graciouse demeanyng here in this Reyme of England, may appere and be named a veray Justicer, aswele for his propre honnor and wele, as for the Common wele of thoos parties, &c."

LETTER XL.

Richard Duke of York to the Earl of Warwick his nephew, agreeing that a Servant of his may attend the Earl one year as Marshal of Calais.

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN. F. XIII. fol. 35. *Orig.*]

*** The date of this Letter must be fixed to 1455. Stowe, speaking of the Parliament which began at Westminster July 9th that year, says, "In this Parliament was the Duke of York made Protector of the realme: the Earle of Salisbury was made Lord Chancellor, and had the Great Seal to him delivered; and the EARL *of* WARWICK *was made Captain of Calais* and the territories of the same. And thus the rule of the realme rested in the Duke and Chancellor, and all the warlike affaires remained principally in the Earl of Warwick. And so amongst them it was agreed, that King Henry should still reign in name and dignity, but neither in deed nor in authority; not minding to destroy him, least they mought suddenly provoke the fury of the common people against them, because that of the common people he was for his holiness of life and abundant clemency much favoured and highly esteemed."

The Officers of Calais were, 1. The Deputy or Captain; 2. The HIGH

MARSHALL; 3. The Comptroller; 4. The Lieutenant of the Castle; 5. The High Treasurer; 6. The Vice Treasurer; each having his suite of soldiers and attendants.[a]

RIGHT worshipfull and my right entierly welbeloved nepveu, I recommaunde me unto you certiffyeng you that I have receyved by the bringer herof youre gentil Lettres writen at your manour of Colyweston the vijth day of this present monneth; wherby I understonde that ye stande destitut and unpourveyed of a Marshall within the town of Calyis and that for the good lordship . . . . . affeccion that for my sake ye owe and bere unto my servaunt Walter Blount squier, ye desire me to geve him leve to be witholden with you as your Marchall in the said towne. Wherunto please it you to wite that for diverse my matiers, wherin I thought to have occupied this yere my said servaunt, I might nat goodly forbere him; neverthelesse right worshipfull nepveu, the greet necessite whiche I conceyve by youre said lettres that ye have unto a Marshall at this tyme, and that I am and ever wol be glad to do any thing that in me myght lye to do unto your desire honour and pleasir, I have graunted unto my said servaunt for the accomplishement of youre desire leve and licence to do you service in the said office of Marshal as for a yere. During whiche tyme hit may please you to purvey you of an

[a] See the Cottonian MS. Append. xxviii. fol. 13.

other, and that yere expired to geve my said servaunt for the consideracion abovesaid your licence to retourne agen into this lande, as my trust is that ye soo well doo. Right worshipfull and my right entierly welbeloved nepveu I beseche oure Lord evermore to have you in his blessed keping. Written at my Castel of Mongomery the xv day of Octobre.

Your trew kynsman,

R. YORK.

To the right worshipfull and
my right entierly welbeloved
Nepveu th'erle of Warwyke.

LETTER XLI.

King Edward the Fourth's Letter of Privy Seal to Thomas Cooke one of the Aldermen of London, A. D. 1462.

[HARL. MS. 543. fol. 145. FROM A COPY IN THE HANDWRITING OF JOHN STOWE.]

*** Stowe in his printed Annals, makes the following allusion to this Letter: "The 27th of March, 1462, King Edward went northward so far as Stamford, where he was informed that King Henry had procured the Frenchmen and Scots to enter this land; in resisting whereof King Edward sent his Privy Seal through England, to move them to give a certain sum of money, which they granted liberally."

Edward the Fourth, upon his first accession to the Throne of England, took great pains to bring the Pope on his side. He even sent a statement of his genealogy to Rome. The Pope's Letter in answer will be found in the note below.[a]

[a] "Edwardo Regi Angliæ . . . . . apostolicam benedictionem. Recepim . . . . . significavit se guberna-

EDWARD by the grace of God kynge of England and of Fraunce, and lorde of Ireland: to owr trusti and welbeloved Thomas Cooke aldarman of owr Citie of London gretinge. Forasmoche as we by divers meanes bene credebly enformed and undarstand for cert yne, that owr greate advarsary Henry naminge hym selfe Kynge of England by the malicious counseyle and exitacion of Margaret his wife namynge hir selfe Queene of England, have conspired, accorded, concluded, and determined with owr owtward enemyes aswell of Fraunce and of Scotland, as of othar dyvars contryes, that owr sayde outward enemyes in greate nombar shall in all haste to them possible enter into this owr Realme of England, to make in the same such cruell horible and mortall warre, depopulacion, robberye and manslawghtar, as here before, hath not bene used amonge Cristen people: and with all wayes and meanes to them possible to destroye uttarly the people,

tionem . . . . . Regni Angliæ adeptam esse ad cujus . . . . . *per lineam rectam* te scribis devenisse, ut *in* NOTULA *tuæ* GENEALOGIÆ *quam ad nos misisti* continetur. Congratulamus tuæ Serenitati quæ Dei benignitate ad tanti Regni fastigium sit evecta: confidimusque prudentia tua, equitate, et consilii magnitudine regnum ipsum bene et pacifice, ac ad honorem Dei et Christiani populi salutem gubernatum iri quod nobis qui regnum prædictum præcipua caritate prosequimur, et in ipso pacem et quietem vigere percupimus gratissimum erit. Ceterum perplacet nobis filialis et prompta oblatio tua per quam scribis te nostrum et Sedis apostolicæ devotissimum filium fore nobisque obedientiam daturum, non dubitamus hæc ex zelo et laudibili mente procedere. Proinde Serenitati tuæ benedicimus, eaque nos in omnibus quæcum Deo poterimus semper ad placita paratos offerimus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo cccc^mo. sexagesimo primo, undecimo kk. Aprilis Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

G. DE FUENCAS.

Carissimo in Christo filio
Edwardo Regi Angliæ illustri."

MS. Cotton. Domit. A. IX. fol. 84.

the name, the tonge, and all the bloud englyshe of this owr sayd Realme: Insomyche that in the seyde conspiracye, amongs othar things it is agreed and accorded by owr sayde adversary Henry, moved thereto by the malicious and subtill suggestion and enticynge of the sayde malicious woman Margaret his wyfe, that in case they shall and may performe this theyr malicious and cruall purpose, which god defend, that then hir Oncle called Charles de Angew with the Frenchmen, shall have the domination rule and governaunce of this owr Realme abovesayde. And ovar this, amonge othar wicked and detestable things attempted in this party by the sayde Henry and Margaret his wyfe, to the entent that owr sayde outward enemyes of Fraunce and Scotland shuld rathar condesend and applye them to theyr malicious entent, and to the distruction of this land, the same Henry owr advarsary hath graunt and sent unto owr advarsary Lewes de Valois, namynge hymselfe kynge of Fraunce, a renountiacion and relese of the ryght and title that the Corowne of England hathe unto the Realme and Crowne of Fraunce, and also to the duches and counties of Guisnes, with theyr marches and appurtenaunces: and ovar that hath graunted to the same entent to the Scotts, not onely the towne and Castle of Berwike, but also a greate parte of this owr Realme of England, which things above rehersed, well and diligently consydered, it openly appearethe that the sayde Henry and Margaret

his wyfe bene not onely to us but also to all this owr Realme, and all owre trewe liege people of the same, mortall and moaste cruell enemies. We entendinge with all owr might and powere to resiste the greate crweltie and malicious purpose of owr sayde adversarye and enemies, and therein in nowise to spare owr person, body, or goods, neythar to refuse any advanture, jepardy, or perell, for the tuicion and defence of this owr Realme and owr trwe subjects of the same, desyre and pray yow in the moaste speciall wyse that ye imediatly upon the recepte of these our lettars, make to be called and assembled before yow all the howsholdars and inhabitaunts within yowre Warde, as well citizens as forranors, and declare unto them the abovesayde malicious, furious, and cruell entent of owr sayde advarsarye and ennemyes. And ovar that, on owre behalfe, exhorte, indwce, and hertly praye them with suche gentle langwage and words of benyvolence as shalbe thowght to yow behovefull, that they for the defence and surtie of them selfe and of all this land, and in the shewinge of the greate and orible mischeves and inconveniences above rehersed, woll at this tyme, in this greate and moaste urgent necessitie, shewe effectually and in dede theyre good wills, zeale, and affeccions that they beare unto us, to the comone weale of this land, and prosperytie of themselfe. And that into the relevinge and supportacion of the greate charges, expenses, and costes, that us must of necessitie

dailie beare in this partie, theye and evariche of them woll graunt unto us, of theire goodnes and frewill, some certayne some of money, suche as they shall mow beare withoute theyre hurte and grevaunce, lattynge them wete for certayne that we have wele in owre fresshe and tender remembraunce the grete and manyfolde charges that they before have borne; and that yf we might by eny meane otharwise doo, we wolde not at this tyme eny thinge desyre to theyr charge. Trustinge nevarthelesse so moche in theyr good disposicions and discrecions, that they well not suffar wilfully all this Realme and themselfe to perishe, and uttarly be destroyed: consyderinge namely that we desyre nothinge of them by way of ymposition, compulcion, or of precedent or example there upon hereafter to be taken, but all onely of theyr humanitie and good wills. Trustinge in the infinite goodnes, grace, and rightwisnes of allmyghtye God, which here before in just battayl by victory, and confusyon of our enemyes, hathe juged and declared openly and in dede for owr right and title, that yf owre trewe and faythefull subjects woll at this tyme doo theyr parte and apply them benyvolently to owr desyre in this behalfe, we shall for owr parte semblably so behave us, and so from all suche perils and mischevs preserve and defend them and all this land, that within fewe dayes they shall have cause to thinke that they nevar herebefore bettar bestowed, besett, or spended any money. And ovar this for

yowre direction and more speedy execution of this mattar, we send unto yow certayn Instructions here within closed, desyringe and right specially prayeng yow that ye, accordynge to the same, woll diligently and effectually labour and entend to th'accomplyshment of owre desyre in this behalfe; and that ye faile not so to doo as ye desyre the wellfare, prosperitie, and sewrtie of us, yourselfe, and all this Land. Yeven undar owr prevy Seale at owr towne of Stampford, the xiii. day of marche, the second yere of owr reigne.

THE following detached paper preserved among the Cottonian Charters,[a] from the mention of the Siege of Donstanburgh in it, must have been written in the 2d Edw. IVth. when the Duke of Somerset had fled to Hen. VI. immediately before the battle of Hexham, by a Yorkist.

"My Lord of Warwick lieth in the Castel of Warkworth and with hym the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Grey Cotnore, and my Lord Wenloh;[b] at the Siege of Awnwyk lieth my Lord of Kent, my Lord Herry, my Lord Scalys, and many other knizts and squiers; and at the Siege of Donstanburgh lieth the Lord Fitzhew, and the Lord Scrop, and the Lord Greystok, and the Lord Powes; at the Siege of Bamburgh, the Erle of Worcestr, the Lord Mountagu, the Lord Strange, and the Lord Say, the Lord Grey of Wylton, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Ogill. In Awnwyk Castell is the Lord Hungerford, Sir Thomas Fyndern, and Sir Robert Whitingham, and with them the number of v. or vj.C. Frenshmen;[c] and in the Castell of Dunstanburgh is Sir Richard Dunstall, doctor Moreton, Sir Philip Wentworth, and with them a vj. or vij.C. In the Castell of Bamburgh is the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Roos, and Sir Rauf Percy, and with them to the noumbr of ij. or iij. hundred. Our men be in all by estimacion bytwen xxx^{ti}. and xl^{ty}. thousand, without the King and his host."

It is curious, as showing the positions of the rival parties in 1463.

[a] Cart. antiq. Cotton. XVII. 10. [b] Wenlock.

[c] So Leland from a manuscript Chronicle: "Syr Peers le Brasile, the great warrior of Normandy, cam to help Queen Margaret with French men, and xx.M. Scottes, and to remeve King Edwardes men from Alnewik sige." Collectan. tom. i. p. 499.

LETTER XLII.

The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, from France, to the Commons of England.

A. D. 1470.

[MS. HARL. 543. fol. 169 b. IN JOHN STOWE'S HANDWRITING.]

*** Stowe, in his manuscript Collections, has given from contemporary authority,

"The Maner and Gwidynge of the Erle of Warwick at Aungiers from the xvth. day of July to the iiijth. of August, 1470, which day he departed from Aungiers."

"First, by the meane of the Kynge of Fraunce, the sayd Erle of Warwick purchased a pardon of the Quene Margarete and of her sonne. Secondly, by the sayd meane was treated the marriage of the seyd Quenes sonne called Prince of Wales, and th'Erle of Warwicks second daughter. Thirdly, there, was appoynted upon his passage over the sea into England with a puissaunce.

"Touchinge the first poynt, the sayd Quene was right dificyle, and showed to the Kynge of Fraunce, being present the Duc of Gwion and many other, that with the honor of her and her sonne, he ne she might not, nor could not pardon the seyde Earle, whiche hathe bene the greatist cawses of the fall of King Henry, of her, and of ther sonne, and that never of owr owne corage she ne mighte be contented with hym, ne pardon hym.

"Item the seyde Quene schewed to the Kynge and other aforeseyde, that it shuld be thinge greatly hurting and prejudiciall to the Kynge Henry, her, and her son, to pardone the seide Earle of Warwick, ne to take party with hym. And over this, that the Kynge Henry, shee, and here sonne had certayne parties and frinds which they myght lyghtlye leese by this meane, and that shuld be a thinge that greatly might greve them, and do them more harme and hynderaunce than the seyd Erle and his alies might bringe or beare unto them profite or advauntage. Wherefore she besought the Kynge that it would please hym to leave off, or further to speke or laboure for the sayde pardon, amytie, or aliaunce aforeseyde."

"Th'Excuse and Aunswere of th'Erle of Warwicke unto Quene Margarete, &c. in these two Articles folowinge.

"Th'Erle of Warwick, all these thyngs herd, sayde unto the Quene that he confessed well that by his conducte and mene the Kynge Henry

and she were put out of the Realme of England; but, for an excuse and justification thereoff, he shewed that the Kynge Henry and she by theyr false counseyll had enterprised the distruction of hym and his frinds in body and in goods, which he never had deserved agaynst them. And hym semed that for suche causes, and the great evill will that they have showed hym he had a rightwyse cawse to laboure theyr undoynge and destruction, and that therein he had not done but that a nobleman outrayed and disperred owghte to have doone. Also he sayde ovar that, and well confessed that he was cawser of the upsetynge of the Kynge of England that now is, but now, seyinge the evill termes that the Kynge hathe kept hym, and cast hym out of the realme, and, asmoche as he hathe bene with hym in tymes passed, now he wilbe as fare contrarye and enemy unto hym here aftar: besechinge there the Quene and the sayd Prince that so they wolde take and repūte hym, and forgyve hym that in tyme passed he had done and attempted agaynst them: offeringe hymself to be bounden, by all maner wyse, to be their trewe and fayth-full subjecte in tyme to come, and upon that he would set for suretye the Kynge of Fraunce. Where unto the sayde Kynge then being present agreyd hymself to be surtye for all the premises with good will, praying the sayde Quene, that, at his requeste she woulde pardon the sayde Earle of Warwick, showinge the greate love that he had unto hym, and that he was bounded and beholden to the seyde Erle more than to any other man, and therefore he wolde do as moche and more for hym thenne for any man lyvinge."

"The Earles of Warwick and Oxenford pardoned of Quene Margarete, and of her sonne Prince Edward.

"And so the Quene, thus required by the Kyng, as it is seyde, counseled also by the servants of the Kynge of Secile hir fader, aftar many treates and metynges, pardoned th'Erle of Warwick, and so did here sonne also. And after that they pardoned th'Erle of Oxenforde being with th'Erle of Warwick; to whome the Quene seide that his pardone was ease to purchase, for she knewe well that he and his frendis hed suffered muche thinge for Kinge Henry's quarrells."

"Towchynge the manar of the Trete of Marriage bitwene the Prince and th'Erle of Warwicks second dowghter, withe th'answere of Quene Margarete.

"Towchinge the second poynt, that is of mariage, trew it is that the Quene wolde not in any wise consente thereunto for offer shewinge, or any maner request that the Kynge of Fraunce myght make her. Some tyme she seyd that she sawe never honor ne profit for her, ne for her sonne the Prince. In other she ledged that and she woulde, she shuld finde a more profitable party, and of a more avauntage *with the Kynge of*

England. And in dede, she shewed unto the Kynge of Fraunce a Lettar which she seyd was sent hir out of England the last wecke, *by the which was offered to her sonne* MY LADY THE PRINCES;[a] and so the Quene persevered fifteen dayes or she wold eny thynge intend to the seyd Treatie of Marriage, the whiche finally, by the meane and conducte of the Kynge of Fraunce and the counsilors of the Kynge of Sicile beinge at Aungiers, the sayd maryage was agred and promised; presente the Kynge of Fraunce and the Duke of Gwine, by meane of certayne articles here aftar followinge."

"The Othe of th'Erle of Warwick at Aungiers sworne to Kynge Henry.

"First the Earle of Warwick sware upon the verrey Crosse in Seint Mary Churche of Aungiers, that, without chaunge he shall alwey holde the partye and quarrell of Kynge Henry, and shall serve hym, the Quene, and the Prince as a trewe and feythefull subjecte owith to serve his sovereigne Lord.

"The Othe of the Kynge of Fraunce, and of his brother, and of the Quene Margaret.

"Item the Kynge of Fraunce, and his brother, clothed in chanons robes in the sayd churche of Seynt Mary, sware that they shulde helpe, beare, and susteyne to theyr powere the sayd Earle of Warwick holdinge the seyde qwarrell of Henry. And aftar this, the seyde Quene sware and promysed fro henseforthe to entret the sayd Earle as trewe and feythfull to Kynge Henry here, and the Prynce: and for the dedes passed, never here aftar to make hym reproche.

"Item, in treatinge the forsayde marrege, it was promitted and accorded that aftar the recoverye of the Realme of England for and in the name of the seyde Kynge Henry, he holden and avouched for Kyng, and the Prince for Regent and Govarnor of the sayd Realme, my Lord of Clarence shall have all the lands that he had when he departed out of England, and the duchie of Yorke, and many other, and th'Erle of Warwick his, and othar named in th'appoyntment."

"Towchinge the tyme whene the Mariage shalbe put in ure.

"Item that from thens forth the seyde dowghter of th'Erle of Warwick shalbe put and remayne in the hands and kepinge of Quene Margaret, and also that the seyde marriage shal not be perfyted to th'Erle of

[a] Elizabeth, eldest, and at that time the only daughter of Edw. IVth. was born at Westminster, Feb. 11th, 1466. She was first intended to be the wife of George Nevil Duke of Bedford; then promised to the Dauphin of France; here she is stated to have been offered to Prince Edward son of Henry the Sixth; she was next courted by King Richard IIId.; and, at last, married to King Henry the Seventh. See Sandf. p. 417.

Warwick had bene with an army over the Sea into England, and that he had recovered the realme of England in the moste partie therof, for the Kynge Henrye. Many other poynts were spoken of in the seyde Tretie of Mariage which were ovar longe to put in writinge.

"The Ayde of the Frenche Kynge, for the passage of th'Erle of Warwick into England.

"Towchinge the poynt concerninge th'Erle of Warwicks passage, trewthe it is that th'Erle every day gave to understand, and yet dothe to the Kynge of Fraunce, that he hath Lettars often from Lords of England conteynyng that assone as he shalbe londed there, he shall have moe then L. M^l^. fighters at his commaundement; wherfore the seyde Earle promysed the Kynge that yf he wold helpe hym with a fewe folk, shipps, and money, he shall passe over the sea without any delay, and upon this his words and promyses to the Kynge, he hath spended and dayly spendythe great sommes of money for enterteyninge the state of hym and his, and besyd that hathe helpen in victuale for his shipps of lxvj M^l^. scuts, content of ij. M^l^. franke archers, &c."

The original of Charles Duke of Guienne's engagement to assist Henry the VIth. Queen Margaret and Edward Prince of Wales, approving also of the marriage of the Prince with the Earl of Warwick's daughter, signed by himself, at Angers, July 30th, 1470, is still preserved in the Cottonian MS. Vesp. F. III.

The daughter of the Earl of Warwick here mentioned, was the Lady Anne. She imitated her father's changes. The widow of Prince Edward became the Queen of Richard the Third.

GEORGE duke of Clarence and lord of Richemond, and Richard earle of Warwyke and Salisbury, Greate Chambarleyne of England and Capitayne of Calais, to the worshipfull, discrete, and trwe Commons of England gretynge. It is we dowte not notarily and openly knowne unto you all, how uncurtasly that in late dayes we have bene entreated, takyn, and accepted for the trwe hertes, tendar zeales, loves and affections that God knowith we have evar borne and entend, before all things erthly, to the weale of the Crowne and the ad-

vauncynge of the Comon Weale of England; and for reprovinge of falsehodd and oppressyon of the pore people; God and owr dedes our Judge. Estraunged also therefore from our frinds and lyvelede not litle, and from the land and naturall place of our birthes, by the falsse meanes and subtill dissimulations of suche certeyne covetows and seditious persons as have gieided and bene about the estate Royall of the Realme, whiche have evar had a more particuler respecte to theyr owne syngular and insatiable covetise, and to the magnifienge of theyr frinds and adherants, then they have had to the majestie Royall, or to the things publique of the trwe comonaltie of the sayde Realme; as dayly and howrlye is now by theyr dedes proved amongs you by experience, to the greate hurt, empoverishinge, and the uttar destruction of yow and the Realme, like to be aliened and governed by streyngers and outward nations yf the seyde covetows persons may rule as they have done; and never lyke to be recovered without gods helpe; the moast lamentable and pitious thinge, to be abhored with every trewe christen man dredinge god or lovynge the weles of his Realme and his neyghbours, that evar was. We, therefore, establysshid and stedfastly perseveringe in owr olde customes, beringe and havynge faythefully toward the seyde Crowne and comon weale of England as fervent zeale, love, and affection as evar we had, aggrudgynge of the greate enormyties and inordinate ympositions,

contrary to lawe and all good customes, newly layd upon yow, and also greatly sorowinge and abored of the cruall and detestable tirany, the vengeable mourdar and manslawghtar reignynge amonge yow. Wherefore we entend, by the grace of God, and the helpe of every well disposed man, in right shorte tyme, to put us in deboure[a] to the uttermoste of owr poweres, to subdwe and put undar falshod and oppressyon; chastice and punishe the seyde covetows persons in perpetuall example to all othar; and to set right and justice to theyr places, to se them equally ministred and indifferently, withoute mede or drede, as they owght to be, and to reduce and redeme for evar the sayde Realme from thraldome of all outward natyons, and make it as fre within it selfe as evar it was heretofore. And for the furtheringe and more perfecte performinge hereof, we call first to owr ayde, helpe and assistaunce of Almighty God, his blessed Mothar and glorious Virgyne seynt Marye, with all the hoole company of Heaven; secondly the blessed and holy martire Seynt George owr patrone, and every trwe englyshe man dredinge God, lovynge his realme and the wele of his neyghbours; and thirdly we shall for owar discharges in that behalfe, bothe agaynst God and Man, put us in owre uttarmoste devoure[a] that we can or may: and thereupon jeopard bothe owr lyves, bodyes, and goods. In witnes whereof, to this owr writinge we have putte owr signetts, and subscribed it with owr owne hands.

[a] devoir; duty.

Stowe adds the following memorandum at the end of his transcript:

"The whiche letar above wreten, dyvers copies were made and set upon the Standard in Chepe, upon the stulpes on London brigge, and upon dyvars churche dores in London, and in othar places of England, before the cominge in and landinge of the seyd Duke and Earle owt of Fraunce, to the enlarginge of Kynge Henry out of the Toure of London, and to the upsettynge of hym agayne unto his estate and dignitie royall in the tyme of Richard Lee grocer, then beinge Maior, the which toke downe the seyde lettars, and would not suffar them to be openly knowne nor sene to the comons."

In another page of the same Volume, Stowe has preserved a copy of the King's Letter to Clarence and Warwick upon the receipt of this: among the "matters of great poise" in it, he, no doubt, included the marriage of Edward son of Henry the Sixth with the daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

"Brothar we bene enformed how ye have labored, contrary to naturall kyndnesse and duty of liegeaunce, dyvars mattars of greate poyes, and also how Proclamations have bene made in yowr name and owr cosyne of Warwike, to assemble owr liege people, no mention made of Us. Furtharmore, lettars myssyves sent in lyke manar for lyke cawse. How be it, we will not forgete that to us apperteynithe, and that is to call yow to yowr declaration in the same, and to resceyve yow therunto yf ye will come, as it fittith a liege man to come to his sovereigne lord in humble wyse: and yf ye so do, indyfference and equitie shalbe by us well remembred, and so as no resonable man, godly disposed, shall mowe thinke, but that we shall entreate yow accordinge to your nyghnes of bloud and owr lawes. Wherefore, owre disposition thus playnly to yow declared, We woll and charge yow, upon the feithe and trewthe that ye naturally owe to beare unto us, and upon payne of yowre leigaunce, that ye, departynge yowr felowshipe in all haste, aftar the sight of this, adresse yow to owr presence humbly and measurablye accompanyed, and so as is convenyent for the cawse aboveseyde; lettynge yow wite that yf ye ne do soo, but contynewe the unlefull assemblye of owr people in perturbation and contempte of owr peax and comandement, we must procede that we were lothe to doo to the punishment of yow, to the grevous example of all othar our subjects. Upon the which yf ther followe eny effusyon of Cristian bloud of owr subjects of this owr Realme, we take God and owr blessed Lady, seint George, and all the Seints in Heven to owr witnesse, that ye be onely charged with the same, and not We.

"Yeven, &c.

"To owr brothar Clarence; and the lyke Letar (mutatis mutandis) to the earle of Warwyke."

This Letter is again followed by the Proclamation which was issued by the Duke and Earl upon their landing; the form of the safe-conducts which they granted; and the Articles of advertisement sent by the Prince to the Earl of Warwick his father-in-law to be shewn to King Henry, for establishing a new Council and Houshold; the latter upon a reduced scale. The following is the last of these articles: "Item, for asmoche as the Kynge is now in great povertie, and may not yet sustayne th'expences of so greate an howshold as he kept sometyme, nor he is yet purveyed of vessell and othar hostilments of howshold honorable and convenyent for hym, and also his costis now upon establyshement will be gretar than any man can certaynly esteme, it is thowght good that it will please his Hyghnesse to forbeare all this first yere the kepinge of his worshipfull and greate Houshold; and be in all that tyme in suche a sure place or places as his moaste nŏble Grace can thinke best for his helthe and plesaunce, with little people, and without resumynge and takyng ageyne in all that yere of the servaunts of his olde howsold, but suche as necessitie shall cawse hym. For yff he take within that tyme any of them, the remenaunte will grudge for theyr absence; and also tho that be thus taken will not leve importune sute to have unto them all theyr old fellowshipe, which shalbe noyfull, and great noye to hymselfe and to all tho that shalbe about hym for that yere."

LETTER XLIII.

Letter of Protection from the Duke of Clarence for the lands and tenants of the Lord Mountjoy, in Derbyshire, A. D. 1470.

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. 1236. fol. 1. *Orig.*]

G. CLARENCE.

GEORGE Duc of Clarence and Lorde of Richemond, to alle parsones thees presents hering or seeing greting. We wolle and upon pain of deth charge you in our Souverain Lordes name King Henri the Sexte that ye

ne noon of you of what degre or condicion soo ever ye bee presume, atempte, or bee so hardy to spoile or robbe the Maners of Barton and Elveston in the Countie of Derb. aperteynyng to the Lorde Mountejoie ne noon of his servaunts, fermors, ne tenaunts ther or ellsswhere or any of thaim, ne vexe, troble, or hurt thaim, or any of thaim in bodees or goodes meovable or unmeovable contrary to our saide Souverain lordes lawes and his peax, as ye wolle eschewe the punicion of the said lawes. Yeven under our Signet at London the xxvj. day of October.

LETTER XLIV.

King Edward the Fourth to the Keeper of his Privy Seal, after his return to the Throne, for Letters patents in reward of William Gould, a butcher.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4614. *art.* 108. BAG. EDW. IV. BUND. I. No. 29.]

By the King.

RIGHT reverend fadre in God, right trusty and welbeloved, We grete you well; lating you wit that for the grete kyndnesse and true hert that oure welbeloved William Gould, citezen of London, bocher, shewed unto us and unto oure derrest wife the Quene, in our last absence out of this oure Roialme, every

weke, than yeving unto hir for the sustentacion of hir houshold half a beef and ij. motons; and also aftir oure Feld of Tewkysbury, at her being in the Towre, brought C. oxen into a medow beside our said Towre for the . . lling[a] of the same, wherof the Kentishmen, and other at tymes, oure rebells, shipmen, toke of the saide bests l. and ledde away . . . an to his great hurt and damage, We have yeven and graunted unto the saide William, in recompense of his said hurts, and for other causes us moeving, our Letters of licence, that he by himself, his factours, or attorneys, maye charge a Ship called the Trynyte of London, of the portage of xxx. ton or within, in any porte or place of this oure Roialme, with oxe hids, ledde, talowe, and alle other merchandises except staple ware, and the saide Ship, so charged and defensibly araied for the defense of the same, with suche a maistre and nowmbre of mariners as the saide William, his factours or attornes, shall name unto you in oure Chancerye, to goo out of this oure saide Roialme into what parties by yonde the Sea it shall like him or theim; and there to discharge and recharge the same Ship with all maner goods and merchandises leefull; and retourne into this oure saide Roialme, and all other places under oure obeissance: and so to discharge and recharge the saide Ship, with the saide goods, wares, and merchandises, and goo and com as often as it shall please him or theim, during oon hoole yere, without any lett

[a] killing.

or impediment of us or eny of oure officers and ministres; paing unto us therfore all maner costumes, subsides, and duetees unto us for the same due and apperteynyng, any act, statute, ordinance, provision, or restraint hadde or made into the contrarye notwithstanding. Wherfore we wol and charge you that undir oure Prive Seale, being in youre ward, ye do make herupon our Letters to be directed unto oure Chancellor of England, commaunding him by the same to make herupon our Letters Patentes undir oure Great Seale in due forme, and thies our Letters shal be your warrant. Yeven undir oure Signet at our Palois of Westminster the xxiiij. day of Feverier . . . . . of our reign.

FREMAN.

To the reverend fadre in God our right trusty and welbeloved the Bishop of Rochester, keper of our Prive Seale.

LETTER XLV.

King Edward the Fourth, concerning the repayment of Money to the Bishop of Aberdeen and James Shaw.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 9 b. *Orig.*]

*** The real object of this Letter is obscure. Thomas bishop of Aberdeen had a safe conduct to come into England Sept. 13. 13th Edw. IV.[a] The Lord Lovel was, at this time, the King's Treasurer.

[a] Rot. 13 Edw. IV. m. 16.

R. E.

As touching the repaiement of C. marc. to the bisshopp of Abyrdene and to James Shaw for the composicion made with the lord Luf, the King hath ordeigned that a Lumbard, or some other sufficient persone or persones resiant within England, shalbe bounde to the said Bisshopp and James in the said somme, to be paied by the first daye of Novembre next to come, at the ferrest, to such as the saide Bisshopp and James wol assigne to receyve the same, be it for the responsion of the Commandeur of Torfischyn in Scotland to the Rodes by the Lord of Sainct Johns in England, or othrewise, as the said Bisshop and James Shaw wol ordeigne.

R. E.

LETTER XLVI.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the Third, to . . . . . to borrow Money.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 10. *Orig.*]

The Duc of Gloucestre.[a]

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved We grete you wele. And forasmuch as the Kings good Grace hathe ap-

[a] These words are in the Duke's hand. ED.

poynted me to attende uppon His Highnesse into the North parties of his lande, whiche wolbe to me gret cost and charge, whereunto I am soo sodenly called that I am not so wel purveide of money therfore as behoves me to be, and therfore pray you as my specyal trust is in you, to lend me an hundreth pounde of money unto Ester next commyng, at whiche tyme I promise you ye shalbe trúly therof content and paide agayn, as the berer herof shal enforme you: to whom I pray you to yeve credence therin, and showe me such frendlynesse in the same as I may doo for you herafter, wherinne ye shal find me redie. Writen at Risyng the xxiiijth day of Juyn.

R. GLOUCESTR.

(A Postscript entirely in the Duke's hand adds)

Sir I say I pray you that ye fayle me not at this tyme in my grete nede, as ye wule that I schewe yow my goode lordshype in that matter that ye labure to me for.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGNS OF

RICHARD THE THIRD

AND

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

Of the Letters of the reign of RICHARD *the* THIRD here laid before the reader, the chief are the King's own: but even in these there is a darkness and a mystery inconsistent with upright deeds. The impression which they make is bad: and leads us to suspect that future discoveries, whatever else they may develope, will do little to retrieve the character of Richard the Third from the odium so concurrently passed upon it by those who lived in his time.

The disquiet of Richard's mind, his doubts, his apprehensions, his distrusts, are all visible in the documents of his last year, though sometimes attempted to be concealed under smooth and cringing expressions.

The Instructions which he gave to "the Commissioners in every Shire" for raising forces against the Earl of Richmond, begin

"Furst, that they, *on the Kings behalf*, THANKE THE PEOPLE *for their* TRUE *and* LOVYNG DISPOSICION *shewed to his Highnesse the last yere*, for the suertie and defense of his moost royal persone and of this his Realme, against his rebels and traitors; exhorting them so to continue." Next, to review the persons raised, "and see that they be able men, and wele horsed and herneysed, and no rascal, and to endeavour them to encrease the numbre *by theire wisedoms and policies*, IF THEY CAN." Lastly, "to shewe all Lords, Noblemen, Captains, and other, that the King's noble pleasure and commaundement is, *that they truely and honorably all manner quarells, grudges, rancors, and unkyndnesse layed aparte*, attend and execute the King's commaundement, *and everyche be* LOVING *and* ASSISTING TO OTHRE *in* THE KINGE'S QUARELLES *and* CAUSE."[a]

This is the language of a King who feels weak in the affections of his subjects.

The few Letters in this Volume of the reign of HENRY *the* SEVENTH, are Privy Seals. Other Letters of this Reign are not numerous in English.

[a] See the Harl. MS. 433. fol. 274.

LETTER XLVII.

King Edward the Fifth, under the direction of his Uncle, to Otes Gilbert, Esq. commanding him to receive Knighthood at the expected Coronation.

[MS. HARL. BRIT. MUS. 433. fol. 227.]

*** Similar Letters to this appear to have been sent to forty-nine other persons, amongst whom were the Lord Ormond, the Lord Stourton, the son and heir of the lord Bergavenny, the Lord Grey of Ruthen, the son and heir of the lord Cobham, and Henry Colet alderman of London.

TRUSTY and welbeloved we grete you wele; and by th'advise of our derrest Uncle the Duc of Gloucestre, Protector of this our Royaume, during our young Age, and of the Lords of our Counsell, we write unto you at this tyme, willing and nathelesse charging you to prepare and ffurnishe yourselff to receive the noble Order of Knighthode at our Coronacion; whiche by Godd's grace we entende shalbe solempnised the xxij^{d} day of this present moneth at oure Palays of Westminster, comaunding you to be here at oure Toure of London iiij. dayes afore oure said Coronacion, to have comynycacion with oure Commissioners concernyng that mater; not failling herof in any wise, as ye entende to please us, and as ye woll answer. Yoven, &c. the vth. day of Juyn.

To
Otes Gilbert squier.

THE Volume from which this Letter has been copied, contains various Papers and Documents issued at the beginning of the reign of Richard the Third as King: and amongst them the following Instructions to the Lord Montjoie, master John Cooke archdeacon of Lincoln, and Sir Thomas Thwayts knt. in answer to a Letter of the Lord Dynham "*late direct to the Kings Graee as* PROTECTOR *of* ENGLAND."

"The first Article remembred the Othe which they of Calais, perteynyng to any of the thre Jurisdiccions ther, incontynent, upon knawlage of the deth of King Edward the iiijth, whome God assoill, commen unto them, made holy togedyr upon a booke, to be true unto King Edward the Vth. his son, as to their liege Lord; and to kepe the towne, castell, and marchies of Calais truly to him, and to suffre no man with power to entre into the same, except the King's persone, or the Lord Hastings then being the King's Lieutenant.

"As to that Article, it shall move besids that how be it suche Othe of ligeance was made sone upon the deth of the said King Edward the iiijth. to his sone, not only at Calais but also in diverse places in England, by many gret Astats and Personages being than ignorant of the verraye sure and true title whiche oure soverayn Lord that now is, King Richard the iij^{de}, hath and had the same tyme to the Coroune of England. That Othe not withstandyng, now, every good true Englissheman is bounde, upon knowlage had of the said verray true title, to depart from the first Othe *so ignorantly gyven to him to whom it apperteyned not*, and therupon to make his Outhe of newe, and owe his service and fidelitie to him that good lawe, reason, and the concorde assent of the Lords and Commons of the Royame have ordeigned to reigne upon the people, which is oure said Soverayn Lord King Richard the iij^{de}. brother to the said King Edward the iiijth. late decessed, whome God pardone: whose sure and true title is evidently shewed and declared in a bill of Peticion which the Lords spirituelx and temperelx and the Commons of this Land solemplye porrected unto the Kings Highnes at London the xxvj^{ti} day of Juyn. Whereupon the Kings said Highnes, notably assisted by well nere all the Lords spirituell and temperell of this Royaume, went the same day unto his Palais of Westminster, and ther in suche roiall honorable appareilled within the gret Hall ther toke possession, and declared his mynde that the same day he wold begyn to reigne upon his people, and from thens rode solempely to the Cathedrall Cherche of London, and was resseyved ther with procession, with great congratulacion, and acclamacion of all the people in every place, and by the wey that the King was in, that day. The copie of the which Bill the King will to be sent unto Calais, and ther to be redd and understanded togeder with thise presents, desiring right effectuously all maner persones of the said thre Jurisdictions, what astat, degre, or condicion that they be of, and also them of Guysnes and

Hammes, to make their feithes and othes to him as to thair soverayn Lorde, like as the Lords spirituelx and temperelx, and many other noble men in gret nombre, being in England, frely and of goode hert have done for their parts. And that the said Towne of Calais, all Castells, and Fortress being within the said Marches they will saufly kepe unto the behoove of oure said Soverayn lord King Richard the iij^de^. and them not to deliver to any persone but by his commaundemente only."[a]

The reader will observe that the Lord Dynham, in answer to whom these Instructions were sent, was one of the Lords who in the Parliament chamber, in the 11th Edw. IVth. had subscribed and sworn to be true to PRINCE EDWARD, the King's eldest son.[b] Who can wonder that Lord Dynham afterwards joined the Earl of Richmond? In the 1st of Henry the Seventh he was constituted one of the Privy Council, and Treasurer of the King's Exchequer. He died in the 17th Hen. VIIth.

There is a Memorandum too, in the Harleian Volume already quoted, a part of which only has been printed by Mr. Sharon Turner.

"M^d^. that I Richard by the Grace of God King of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, in the presens of you my Lords spirituell and temporell, and you Mair and Aldermen of my Cite of London, promitte and swere *verbo regio* upon these holy Evangelies of God by me personelly touched, that if the doughters of dame Elizabeth Gray late calling her selff Quene of Englaud, that is to wit Elizabeth, Cecill, Anne, Kateryn, and Briggitte, woll come unto me out of the Sanctwarie of Westminster and be guyded, ruled, and demeaned after me, than I shall see that they shalbe in suertie of their lyffs, and also not suffre any manner hurt by any maner persone or persones to them or any of theim or their bodies and persones, to be done by way of ravissement or defouling contrarie their willes, nor them or any of theim emprisone within the Toure of London or other prisonne; but that I shall put theim in honest places of good name and fame, and theim honestly and curtesly shall see to be founden and entreated, and to have all things requisite and necessary for their exibicion and findings as my kynneswomen; and that I shall do marie suche of them as now ben mariable to Gentilmen born, and everiche of them geve in mariage lands and tenements to the yerely valewe of CC. marcs for term of their lyves; and in likewise to the other doughters when they come to lawfull age of mariage if they lyff. And suche gentilmen as shall happ to marie with them I shall straitly charge, from tyme to tyme, lovyngly to love and entreate them as their wiffs and my kynneswomen, as they woll advoid and eschue my displeasur.

"And over this that I shall yerely fromhensfurth content and pay, or cause to be contented and paied, for th'exhibicion and finding of the said

[a] MS. Harl. 433, fol. 238.

[b] Claus. 11 Edw. IV. in dorso, m. 1.

dame Elizabeth Gray during her naturall liff at iiij. termes of the yere, that is to wit at pasche, midsomer, michilmasse, and christenmesse, to John Nesfelde, one of the squiers for my body, for his finding, to attende upon her, the summe of DCC. marcs of lawfull money of England, by even porcions; and moreover I promitte to them, that if any surmyse or evyll report be made to me of them, or any of them, by any persone or persones, that than I shall not geve therunto faith ne credence, nor therfore put them to any maner ponysshement, before that they or any of them so accused may be at their lawfull defence and answer. In witnesse whereof to this writing of my Othe and Promise aforsaid, in your said presences made, I have set my sign manuell the first day of Marche the first yere of my Reigne."[a]

These, it must be owned, are singular documents.

LETTER XLVIII.

King Richard the Third to Sir Ralph Hastings knt. Lieutenant of the Castle of Guisnes.

[MS. HARL. BRIT. MUS. 433. fol. 239.]

By the King.

TRUSTY, &c. We woll and desire you that ye yeve full feith and credence to our trusty Servants Robert Bradboury, Robert Allerton, Hugh Bage, and Thrustayn Hatefelde, in suche things and newes as we have commaunded thaym to shewe unto you on our behalve: which by you herd, we pray you to disclose to suche of oure subgetts as be under your rule in our

[a] MS. Harl. ut supr. fol. 308 b.

Castell there, as by your wisdome shalbe thought most according, and of their disposicions, which we trust verraily wolbe with oure pleasure. We desire you furthwith, in all hast possible, to accertayn our right trusty and welbeloved the Lord Mountjoye, Sir Thomas Thwayts, and maister John Cooke our Commissioners at Dover, whome we have carged[a] ther to abide your Answere; and that had, to addresse them over unto you fully instructed of our ferther mynde and pleasur in every thing concernyng the same. Faill ye not the premisses, as ye woll do us speciall pleasur. Yoven under our signet at our Cite of London the xxviij[ti]. day of Juyn.

To
S[r]. Rauff Hastings knight
Lieutenant of our Castell of
Guysnes.

An entry in the Manuscript, very soon after this Letter, acquaints us that Sir Ralph Hastings was dismissed from his charge.

He was brother of the Lord Hastings who was beheaded by Richard the Third; and had been much favoured by King Edward the Fourth in grants of lands.

[a] charged.

LETTER XLIX.

King Richard the Third to the Lords of his Council, A. D. 1483, *upon the arrival of an ambassador from Isabella Queen of Spain.*

[MS. HARL. BRIT. MUS. 433. fol. 235 b.]

*** Preceding this Letter, in the Harleian Manuscript, are the instructions, in Latin, of Granfidius de Sasiola, the Queen of Spain's envoy, dated August the 8th, 1483; after which it is said,

"Besides these Instructions geven in writing by this Orator, he shewed to the Kings Grace by mouth, that the Quene of Castell was turned in her hart fro England in time past, for the unkindness the which she took against the King last deceased, whom God pardon, for his refusing of her, and taking to his wife a widow of England; for the which cause also was mortal war betwixt him and the Earl of Warwick, the which took ever her part to the time of his death. And therefore she, moved for thise cause against her nature, the which was ever to love and favour England, as he said, she toke the French Kings part, and made leagues and confederations with him.

"Now the King is dead that shewed her this unkindness, and, as he said, the French King hath broken four principall articles appointed, concluded, and sealed betwixt him and the King of Castell and hur: wherfore she now returning to hir natural kind and disposition, desireth such things to be appointed and concluded betwixt these two realmes, England and Spain, as ye may understand by these Instructions of her said Orator.

"Another cause which moved her to depart from the King Louis, was, that she had a grant of the Queen of Navarre to have hur daughter and heir for the Prince of Castele her son, if the consent of King Louis might therein have been had: and for so much as he by no maner meane wold be thereunto agreable she taketh a gret displeasure with him, and desireth by all meanes to her possible to make these Alliances and Confederations with the Kings good Grace, as be shewed in thise Instructions."

The first part of this statement is fully corroborated by the English Historians.[a]

[a] See Hall's Chron. edit. 1548. foll. cxcii. b. cxciii. Grafton's Contin. of Hardyng, fol. iiij. Lel. Collect. tom. i. p. 500. &c.

• Lingard has taken no notice of this negociation for the hand of Isabella; and he treats the subsequent negociation for a marriage with Bona of Savoy as a fiction.[a] But even this is mentioned by foreign writers, as well as our own.[b]

BY THE KING.

MY LORDS,

We grete you hertely wele, latting you wit that yesterday come to us hider an Oratour of our cousine the Quene of Hispana, with lettres and open credence also, the which he shewed before us wherupon the Lords of our Counsell here, by oure commaundement, have had communication with the said Oratour upon auctorite or commission yeven unto him in that behalve, the which as we suppose he hath noon otherwise than by instruction and commandement of his maisteres; wherein he saith he might have had gret and large, bot she saith her worde shuld be as sure and stable as any other auctorite by Commission. Natheles suche credence as was uttered to us by the said Oratour, he hath delivered in writing signed with his hande, the Copie whereof we sende unto you, to the'ntent we may have your good advertisments what is ferther to be doen in this mater. Also the said Oratour hath ben demaunded as in the Amite and Lieuge[c] late taken betwixt the King our brother late

[a] Hist. Engl. 8°. edit. vol. v. p. 257.

[b] See Guicheron, Hist. Genealogique de la Royale Maison de Savoye, tom. i. pp. 532, 533. who dates it in 1464.

[c] League.

decessed, and Henry the King of Hispayne, the which the said Oratour promiseth shalbe renewed and confirmed betwixt us and the King and new Quene of Hispayne, in like forme as was betwixt them. And if it shall seme you this mater be for our wele and honor, than we pray you, our Chaunceler, the said Amite made in our name and sealed with our Seale be sent to us in goodly hast; for the which, upon a bill therof sent to us, ye shall have good and suffisaunt warrant; and that Barnard de la Forssa if [he] be not passed the See, be sent for to come unto us in goodly hast, to th'entent he may practise thise maters in Spayne. Youen under our signet at the Castell of Warrewik, the ixth day of August.

To the Lords of our Counsell
at our Cite of London.

LETTER L.

The Queen of Spain to King Richard the Third.

[MS. HARL. BRIT. MUS. 433. fol. 236.]

*** Isabella, then Queen of Castile, was married to Ferdinand King of Arragon at Valladolid, Oct. 18th. 1469, privately, in the House of John de Bivero.[a]

Muy esclareado Rey nr̃o muy caro et muy amado primo. Nos la Reyna de Castilla, de Leon,

[a] See Lewis de Mayerne Turquet's Hist. of Spaine. fol. Lond. 1612. p. 817. Curita Anales de la Corona de Aragon, Par. ii. lib. 18. sub an.

de Arragon, de Secilia, etc. vos enbiamos mucho saludaz como aquel que mucho amamos et preciamos, et para quien querviamos que Dios diese tanta vida, salud, et hourra, quanta vos mesmo deseays. Facemos vos gober que nos enbiamos a vos al bachiller de Sasiola del nostro Consilio, el qual de nostra parte vos fablara algunas cosas, muy afectuosamente vos rogamos le dedes entera fee et creencia. Muy esclareado Rynostro, muy caro et muy amado primo, dies nostro Señor to dos ipsos vos aya en su proteccion et recomienda. De la abeas de Sancto Dominicho de la Calcada a scie dias de Junjo de MCCCC.lxxxiij.

YO LA REYNE.[a]

Al muy esclar's a do Rey de Yngladeffa nr'o muy saro[b] et muy amado primo.

THE following TRANSLATION accompanies this Letter in the manuscript:

"Right excellent King our right dere and right entierly beloved, We the Quene of Castile, Lyons," (it should be Leon) "Arragon, and Sicile, &c. sende you many gretings, as to him that we gretly love and prayse, and him to whome we beseche God to grant as moche lyff, helthe, and honeur as your selff desires. We lat you wit that we sende unto you the Bachillier of Gasiola, of our Counsell, which on our behalve shall shewe you certain things, prayng you of affectuouse mynde unto hym therin to geve feith and credence. Right excellent King, our right dere and right entierly beloved cousyn, our Lord God alweys have you in his protection and recommendacion. From th'Abbey of Seint Domynyk of Calcada, the vjth. day of Juyn A^{o}. 1483.

To right excellent King of England, our right dere and right entierly beloved."

[a] "I the Queen." This was the Spanish mode of affixing the royal signature to documents of state. Charles the Fifth signs a Letter of credence sent to Q. Catherine of Arragon, his aunt, in 1522, MS. Cotton. Nero B. VII. fol. 41, "Yo el Rey."

[b] caro.

LETTER LI.

The Lord Dynham to the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor, announcing the death of Louis XIth. of France; the yielding of Utrecht, &c.

[MS. HARL. 433. fol. 233 b.]

*** Lewis the Eleventh is usually stated by the French Historians to have died August 30th, 1483. Mezeray says August 29th. The Lord Dynham places his death, in this Letter, on the 25th of August.

My speciall good Lord, I recommaunde [me] to your good Lordship. Please it the same to knowe that I sent worde unto the Kings Grace, by *Blenc Rose*,[a] of the deth of the Frenshe King within ij houres after the thidings come to me as I herd. How be it I was not then in certain as I am nowe. He died the xxvti day of August at afternone; on whose soule I pray God have mercy. And what direction shall be take therupon his decease with the Dolphyn, and that Realme, it is not yet knowen. This I here say, the Lord Disquerdes is in the handes of the gret Lords of Fraunce, the Duc of Orliaunce, and other. I trust within few daies to know more; and as I here fro tyme to tyme I shall sende worde unto the Kings Grace,

[a] *White Rose*, a herald, or pursuivant so named.

and to yow my Lord, which I am sure ye will shewe unto my Lordes of the Counsell ther.

Also the Duc of Austriche &c. hath wonne Utright,[a] by appoyntementes such as yor Lordship may understand by a copie that I send yow herewith. Gaunt[b] is offered, as I here for certeine, and such as were the gret doyers in Burgis,[c] and the chieff labourers of the Peax with Fraunce be goen with all their goodes to Gaunt,[b] for fere of the Duc; and all the comones of the Contre greitly rejoysshe therof. There is a gret brute an the Duk of that they will set upon Picardie to get it againe to enlarge theire frountiers; which I pray God sone may take effect, for in myn openion it shuld be gretly for the wele of that toune and marches &c.

Also my Lord upon this departing of the Frensshe King, how it shall stande with the Kings pleasure and you my Lordes of his Counsell that we shall deale for making of sauf Conductes this fisshing season if any be asked, I wold fayne understand, because the werre is open between bothe Roialmes. I have much ado to kepe men still in peax here, for they wold fayne be in hand with the Frenshmen. How be it, I trust that mater shall not be attempted till the Kings pleasure be knowen therein, or unto the tyme occasion be geven by them by lande as it is daily seen by water.

My Lord it is thought here that the King shuld

[a] Utrecht. [b] Ghent. [c] Bruges.

have a Navie upon the See, to shewe himself as a King, to rule and kepe his stremes betwixt this and Dover; and that suche folkes as shall be sent unto the see may have a strait charge upon their lyves that they nether robbe ne spoill any of the Kings frendes; and namely of the Duc of Austriche contrees, and Bretayne; for if they fall enemys unto us, and no gretter suertie had betwixt the King our Soverayn Lord and them, it shall not be good for this Towne and Merches, considered of likelihode what pour the Duc shall be of nowe upon this victorie of Utright which is thought a gret thing here.

Also I here say that he is chosen King of Rome, and Emperour comen downe to Collougne to crowne him, to thentent he shuld be Emperour after him. Thise be all the tidings that I here speke of, or that I knowe of for certaine, which I pray yow to shewe unto the Kings Grace, to whome I have not written at this passage. Also that it may like your Lordship to gif knowlege unto my good frende maister Pieres Puissaunt of the same tydings.

DYNHAM.

To my most speciall good Lord
my Lord Bisshop of Lincolne,
Chaunceler of England.

LETTER LII.

King Richard the Third to John Russel Bishop of Lincoln, previous to his advancing against the Duke of Buckingham, A. D. 1483.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL AMONG THE RECORDS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.]

By the King.

RIGHT reverend Fadre in God, right trusty and welbeloved, we grete you wele, and [in] most hertiest wyse thanke you for the manifolde presents that your servaunt on yor behalve have presented unto us at this oure being here; which we assure you we toke and accepted with good hert, and soo we have cause. And whereas we, by Godds grace, entende briefly to avaunce us towards our rebelle and traytour the Duc of Bukingham, to resiste and withstande his maliciouse purpose, as lately by our other Lettres we certifyed you our mynde more at large; for which cause it behoveth us to have our grete Sele here. We being enformed that for such infirmitees and diseases as ye susteyne, ne may in your persone to your case conveniently come unto us with the same: wherfor we desir and nathelesse charge you, that, forthwith upon the sight of theis ye saufly do the same our Grete Sele to be sent unto

us, and such of th'offic' of our Chauncery as by your wysedom shalbe thought necessary; receyvyng these our Lettres for your sufficient discharge in that behalve. Yeven undre our signet at our Citie of Lincoln the xij. day of Octobre.

[Then follows, in the King's own hand-writing,]

We wolde most gladly ye came yourself yf that ye may, and yf ye may not we pray you not to fayle, but to accomplyshe in all dyllygence our sayde comawndement to sende our Seale incontenent upon the syght heroff, as we trust you, with suche as ye trust, and the Offycers pertenyng, to attend with hyt; praying you to assertayne us of your Newes. Here, loved be God, ys all well and trewly determyned, and for to resyste the malysse of hym that hadde best cawse to be trewe, th'Duc of Bokyngham, the most untrewe creatur lyvyng, whom with Gods grace we shall not be long tyll that we wyll be in that partyes, and subdewe hys malys. We assure you y^r^ was never false traytor better purvayde for, as this berrer Gloucestr' shall sheue you.

LETTER LIII.

King Richard the Third to his mother, the Duchess of York. *A. D.* 1484.

[MS. HARL. 433. fol. 2 b.]

MADAM,

I-RECOMMENDE me to you as hertely as is to me possible; beseching you in my most humble and effectuouse wise of your daly blissing to my synguler comfort and defence in my nede. And, Madam, I hertely beseche you that I may often here from you to my comfort. And suche Newes as ben here my servent Thomas Bryan this berer shall show you; to whome please it you to yeve credence unto. And, Madam, I beseche you to be good and graciouse lady to my lord my Chamberleyn to be your officer in Wilshire in suche as Colingbourne had. I trust he shall therein do you good service, and that it please you that by this berer I may understande youre pleasur in this behalve. And I pray God sende you th'accomplisshement of your noble desires. Written at Pountefreit, the iij^{d}. day of Juyn, with the hande of

Yo^{r} most humble son,

RICARDUS REX.

COLYNGBOURN mentioned in this Letter, was, no doubt, the William Colyngbourn who was executed upon Tower Hill for his celebrated

rhyme in derision of Richard and his Council. Fabyan says, he died "to the compassion of much people." He is mentioned in Rymer's Fœdera, to have been serving in the wars in France in 1475 as an Esquire. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 845.

LETTER LIV.

King Richard the Third to his Chancellor, to prepare a Proclamation against Henry Tudor and other rebels his followers.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4616. *art.* 98. EX BUND. INFRA TURR. LOND. *temp.* RIC. III. N. 28.]

R. R.

RIGHT reverend fader in God, right trusty and right welbeloved, we grete yow wele, and wol and charge yow that under oure Greate Seale, being in your warde, ye do make in all haist our lettres of Proclamation, severally to be directed unto the shirrefs of everie Countie within this oure Royaume, according to the tenure hereafter ensueing.

"Forasmoche as the King oure Soverain Lorde hathe certaine knowledge that Piers Bisshop of Excestre, Jasper Tidder sone of Owen Tidder calling himself Erle of Pembroke, John late Erle of Oxon, and Sir Edward Widevile, with other diverse his rebells and traitours disabled and attaynted by authoritie of high Courte of Parliament, of whom many been

knowen for open murdrers, advowters, and extortioners, contrarie to the pleasure of God and against all treuthe, honour, and nature, have forsaken thair naturall countrey, taking theim furst to be under the obeissaunce of the Duc of Britaigne, and to him promised certain things which by hym and his Counseill were thought thinges to gretly unnaturall and abominable for theim to graunte, observe, kepe, and perfourme; and therfor the same utterly refused. The said Traitours seeing that the said Duc and his Counseill would not aide and succour theim, nor folow their weyes, prively departed out of his countrey into Fraunce,[a] there taking theim to be undre th'obbeisance of the Kings auncient ennemie Charles, calling himself King of Fraunce; and to abuse and blynde the Commones of this said Royaume, the said Rebeles and Traitours have chosen to be their Capitayne oon HENRY TIDDER son of Edmond Tidder son of Owen Tidder, whiche of his ambitious and insatiable covetise incrocheth and usurpeth upon hym the name and title of royal estate of this Roialme of Englande, wherunto he hath no maner interest, right, title, or colour, as every man wel knoweth; for he is descended of bastard blode both of the fader side and moder side; for the said Owen, the grandfader, was a bastard borne, and his moder was doughter unto John Duc of

[a] For a comment upon this passage of the Letter, the reader may refer to Hall's Chronicle, edit. 1548. foll. xlv. b. xlvi.

Somerset, sone unto John Erle of Somerset, son unto dame Kateryne Swynford, and of her in double advoutrow goten; wherby it evidently appereth that noo title can or may be in hym, whiche fulley entendeth to entre this Royaume purposing a conquest: and if he should atcheve this false entent and purpose, every mannys lif, livelood, and goods shuld be in his hands, libertie, and disposition: wherby shuld ensue the disheriting and distruction of all the noble and worshipfull blode of this Royalme for ever. And to the resistence and withstanding wherof, every true and naturall Englisheman born must lay to his handes for his own suertie, and well, and to the entent that the said Henry Tidder might the rather eschewe his said fals entent and pourpous by the aide, supporte, and assistence of the Kings said auncient ennemye of Fraunce, hath covenaunted and bargayned with hym and with all the Counseill of Fraunce to geve . . and relesse in perpetuyte alle the right, title, and clayme that the Kings of England have had and mighte to have to the Corone and Royaume of Fraunce, togidder with the Duchies of Normandye, Angeoye and Maygne, Gascoygne and Guyenne, the Castelles and Townes of Caleys, Guisnes, Hammes, with the merches apperteignyng to the same, and to dessever and exclude the armes of Fraunce out of the armes of England for ever. And in more prove and sheweing of his said pourpose of conquest, the said Henry Tidder

hath geven aswele to divers of the Kings said enemyes, as to his said rebelles and traitoures, the Archbisshoprekes, Bisshopriches, and other dignities spirituel, and also the Duchies, Earledomes, Baronies, and othre possessions and inheritaunces of Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and othre the Kings true subgets within this Roialme; and entendeth also to chaunge and subvert the lawes of the same, and to enduce and establisshe newe lawes and ordinaunces amongs the Kings said subjiettes. And over this and besids the alienations of all the premisses into the possession of the Kings said ancient enemyes, to the gretest augeutisement, shame, and rebuke that ever might falle to this lande, the said Henry Tider and othre the Kings rebells and traietours aforesaid, have entended at thair cummyng, if theye can be of powair, to doo the moost cruell murdres, slaghters, robberies, and disherisons that ever wer seen in any Cristen Royaume. For the whiche and othre inestimable daungieres to be eschewed, and to the entent that the Kings said rebells, traitours, and enemyes may be utterly putt from their said malicious and fals pourpose, and soon disconfited of their enforce to lande, the King oure soverayn Lorde desireth, willeth, and commaundeth all and everych of the naturel and true subgiets of this his Royaume, to call the premisses into their myndes, and like good and true Englisshemen to . . . . . thaym self with all their powairs for the defense of

theim, thair wifs, children, goodes, and hereditaments, agenst the said malicious purposes and conspirations whiche the said auncient ennemyes have made with the Kings said rebelles and traitours for the fynal destruction of this lande as is aforesaid. And oure sayde soverayn Lord, as a welewilled, diligent, and couragious Prince wol put his royal persone to all . . . . . and payne necessarie in this behalve for the resistence and subdueing of his said ennemyes, rebelles and traitours to the moost comfort, wele, and suertie of all his true and feithfull liegemen and subgiettes; and over this oure said soverayn Lorde willeth and comaundeth all his said subgietts to be redy in their moost defensible arraye, to doo his Highnesse service of Werre, whan they by open proclamation or otherwise shall be commanded so to do for the resistence of the Kings said rebells, traitours, and enemyes." And thise oure Lettres shall be your sufficient warrant in that behalve.

Yeven under oure Signet, at oure Castell of Notyngham, the xxi day of Juyn the secund yere of our reigne.

To the right reverend fader in God
our right trusty and right welbeloved
the Bisshop of Lincoln our Chauncellour of England.

ANOTHER Letter to the Bishop, directing a similar Proclamation to be prepared, dated December 3d in the same year, occurs in the Harleian Manuscript 433. fol. 273 b.

LETTER LV.

King Henry the Seventh to the Lord Dynham and Sir Reginald Bray, concerning money to be provided for two of his Ambassadors.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4617. *art.* 42.]

*** This, and the four Letters which follow, are Privy Seals of King Henry the Seventh.

This concerns the Embassy of Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham to the Court of Burgundy, and gives us a sample, in one passage, of the King's economy.

The next orders the payment of the charges and expenses of certain Scottish ambassadors during their abode in England.

The third and fourth, in the sixth year of his reign, concern the wages of the persons to whose care his infant children were intrusted.

The fifth, among other rewards, directs ten pounds to be given to two Spaniards, who brought over from Ferdinand and Isabella certain female Moors, "Women Saracens," as they are called, apparently for the King's inspection. Stowe tells us, in his Annals, of another exhibition to King Henry the Seventh, of the same kind, in 1502, of three men who had been brought from the new discovered islands in America by Sebastian Cabot.[a]

By the King.

H. R.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved, and trusty and right welbeloved, We grete you wel. And in asmoche as we have appointed our ful trusty servants Sir Edward Ponyngs and Doctor William Warham oure Counseillors, to goo on oure Ambassad to oure cousin

[a] Stowe, Annales, edit. 1631, p. 483.

th'Archeduc of Burgoine, it behoveth theym to have for their costs: and therfor We have appointed, for the said Sir Edward, thre pound by the day whiles he shall be absent, the rekenyng of the day to begyne at his departing out of oure Citie of London to the seeward; and to have in hand and redy money for thirty dayes, which amounteth to the some of foure score and ten poundes sterlings. And the said Doctor William, twenty shillings by the day after the same rekenyng, and to have for thritty dayes thritty poundes in hand. And soo in caas they be languer in our Ambassad, then xxx. dayes, that then they have their allowances and payments after the rate of the dayes and sommes abovesaid. Understanding of the same Doctor Warham *where the money is, that was appointed for hym when he shulde last have goon unto our said Cousin, and did not: and theruppon to deale with hym as the caas shall require.* But howe soever ye doo, see ye that they be despeched accordingly as it is abovesaid, and that without tarying or delay; as oure very trust is in you. Yeven undre oure Signet at oure Castel of Kenelworth the vth day of July.

To our right trusty and welbeloved the Lord Dynham oure Tresourer of England, and our trusty and right welbeloved knight for our body Sir Raynold Bray chancellor of our Dúchie of Lancastre, our Counseillours.

LETTER LVI.

King Henry the Seventh to the Under-Treasurer of England, concerning the charges of the Scottish ambassadors.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4617. art. 76. *from* BREV. HEN. VII. an... n. 5.]

By the King.

H. R.

TRUSTY and right welbeloved we grete you wele, and wol and charge you that incontinent, aftre the sight herof and by vertue of the same, ye delivre to the hands of oure trusty and welbeloved squier William Fyssher, Cofferer of oure Houshold, the summe of twenty thre pounds four shillings and ten pens sterlings, to thentent that he with the same may content and satisfie the charges and expenses of the Ambassadours of Scotland during their abode here, according to oure appointement in that behalve. And wee shal see that amongs other things ye shal have due and juste allowaunce of the said summe as right and reason require. And therfore faille ye not herof as we specially trust you. Yeven undre oure Signet at oure manoir of Shene the xxiij day of Marche.

To oure trusty and right welbeloved Counsaillour, Robert Litton our Undre-treasourer of England.

LETTER LVII.

King Henry the Seventh to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of his Exchequer, for the payment of money to Persons attendant on his son Prince Arthur.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS 4617. art. 108. *from* BREV. HEN. VII. an. 6. n. 26.]

HENRY by the grace of God King of Englond and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland; to the Tresourer and Chambrelains of our Eschequier greting. For asmoche as the summe of twenty markes sterlings resteth due unto oure dere and welbeloved dame Elizabeth Darcy lady maistres unto oure derest Son the Prince, and fyve markes sterlinges unto oure welbeloved Agnes Butler and Emlyn Hobbes rokkers of oure said Son, that is to say to every of theim xxxiij. s. iiij. d. for their wages of the half yere ended at Estre last passed; We, willing their spedy contentacion in that behalve, wol and charge you that of oure Tresour being in your warde ye content and paye unto theim, or to their deputie in their names, the summes aforsaid, withoute any prest or charge setting upon theim or any of theim for the same, and thies oure letters shal be your Warraunt. Yeven undre oure Prive Seel at oure ma-

noir of Grenewiche, the xxvijth. day of May the sexte Yere of oure Reigne.

BELL.

THE same Volume which contains this Letter, preserves another, art. 41. from Brev. 1 Hen. VII. n. 10. directing an annuity of twenty pounds a year to be granted to Philip ap Howel, and *Jane his wife* "*sumtyme* OUR NORICE."

LETTER LVIII.

King Henry the Seventh to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of his Exchequer, for payment of money to the Attendants on the Lady Margaret.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4617. art. 90. *from* BREV. HEN. VII. an. 6. n. 30.]

HENRY by the grace of God King of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, to the Tresourer and Chamberlains of our Eschequier, greting.

Wher ther is due unto our welbelovede Alice Davi, norce to our derrist beloved doughter the lady Margarete, the summe of fyve pounds; to Anne Maylande thirty thre shillings and four pens, to Margarete Troughton thirty thre shillings and four pens, rockers to the same our daughter; and to Alice Bywymble, hir day wife, thirty thre shillings and four pens; amounting in all to the sume of ten pounds by reason of their wages

for an half yere ended the xxij^{ti} day of the moneth of May last past, whiche we have appointed to be paied by your handes. We, desiring them to have hasty contentation of their wages aforesaid, woll and charge yow that furthwith upon the sight herof, ye, of suche our tresour as remaigneth in your keping, deliver to the bearer of thies presents to their behouf, the said summe of ten pounds and every parcell therof, without any prest or othre charge to be sette upon theim or any of theim in that partie. And thies our Letters shalbe your suffisaunt warrant and discharge in that behalve.

Yeven undre our prive Seel at our manoir of Grenewiche, the xxix^{ti} day of Juyn the sixt yere of our reigne.

N. PURDE.

LETTER LIX.

King Henry the VIIth to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, for various payments. A. D. 1491.

[MS. DONAT. 4617. art. 98. *from* BREV. HEN. VII. an. 6. n. 36.]

HENRY by the grace of God king of Englond and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irlande, to the Tresourer and Chambrelains of our Eschequier greting.

We wol and charge you that of oure tresour, resting in your warde, ye deliver unto the personnes herein-named thies summes of money herafter folowing. Furst, unto Loveles of Calays the summe of ten markes: item, to two Spaignards, servantes to oure cousin the king of Romaynes, the summe of xl. markes: item, to a Spaignard, that brought the women Sarrasynes unto us from oure cousines the King and Quene of Spaigne, the sume of ten pounds: item, to the servants of Piers Eggecombe that brought unto us two prisoners, fyve markes: withoute prest or other charge to be sette uppon theim, or any of theim, for the same. And thies our Letters shalbe your warrant and suffisaunt discharge anempts us at all tymes in this partie. Yeven undre our prive Seel at oure manoir of Grenewiche the xith day of Juyll the sext yere of oure reigne.

N. PURDE.

It would have gratified the editor of these Volumes, could he have discovered any Letters of Henry the Eighth written during his younger years while Prince: but the search for these has been fruitless. There is one, however, preserved among the Latin Letters written to Erasmus, upon a subject which did his feelings honor, and which the reader will probably not dislike to see transplanted here.

Philip King of Castile, in the beginning of 1506, going with his Queen from the Netherlands to take possession of their Throne, was driven by a storm to England; where, during a residence of three months Henry the Seventh endeavoured to obtain favourable concessions from him, whilst the Prince established a friendship which was thought likely to be lasting;[a] but Philip died, soon after his arrival in Spain, of a fever, Sept.

[a] A Narrative of King Philip's entertainment by King Henry the Seventh, at Windsor, when he was invested with the Order of the Garter, is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Vespasian C. xii. with copies of the Treaties which the two Sovereigns entered into.

15th 1506. A short time after, the following Letter was addressed to Erasmus by Prince Henry; in the latter part of which he has deplored the death of Philip, to use Erasmus's own words, "*non minus amanter quam eleganter.*"

"PRINCEPS HENRICUS DES. ERASMO VIRO UNDECUNQUE DOCTISSIMO, S.

"*Jesus est Spes mea.*

"Tuis plurimum sum litteris affectus, disertissime Erasme, quippe quæ et venustiores sunt quam ut raptim videantur exaratæ, et lucidæ simplicesque magis quam quæ ab ingenio tam solerti præmeditatæ judicentur. Fit enim, nescio quo pacto, ut quæ ab ingeniosis elaborata, deditiore depromuntur opera, plus pariter affectatæ secum afferant difficultatis: nam dum tersiori studemus eloquio, subterfugit nos clanculum apertus ille clarusque dicendi modus. Sed tua isthæc Epistola quantum venustate pollet, tantum etiam sua perspicuitate liquet, ut prorsus omne punctum tulisse videaris. Sed quid ego tuam laudare paro facundiam, cujus per totum terrarum orbem est nobilitata scientia? Nihil queo equidem in tuam laudem effingere, quod tam consummata isthæc eruditione satis dignum sit. Quare tuas laudes omitto, de quibus silere satius puto quam nimis parce dicere.

"Rumorem illum de morte Castellani Regis, mei fratris penitus penitusque desideratissimi, longe antequam ex tuis litteris oppido invitus acceperam: sed eum utinam aut serius multo aut minus verum ad nos fama tulisset! Nunquam enim, post charissimæ genitricis mortem, nuntius huc venit invisior: et parcius, ut verum fatear, huic litterarum parti favebam, quam earum singularis postulabat elegantia, quod cicatricem, cui callum tempus obduxerat, refricare visa est. Verum quæ superis sunt visa, mortalibus rata haberi fas est. Tu vero perge, eaque nobis litteris significa si qua sunt istic nova, sed jucundiora. Deus fortunet quæcunque memoratu digna acciderint. Vale. Ex Richemundia, 17 Januarii."[a]

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[a] Erasmi Epist. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1701. Pars ii. epist. ccccli. col. 1840. This is usually considered the best edition of the Letters of Erasmus: but it is right to caution the English reader that the dates of such Letters as refer to English Literature and History are not always to be relied upon. A Letter, for instance, which describes the accession of Henry the VIIIth. has the date of 1497; while another in which the name of bishop Latimer occurs has the date of 1517.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Lord Herbert, quoting the History of the Council of Trent respecting Henry the Eighth, says "his education was accurate, being destined to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, during the life of his elder brother Prince Arthur; that prudent King his father choosing this as the most cheap and glorious way for bestowing of a younger son. For as he at once disburthened his revenues and the public from the charge incident to so great a person, so he left *a passage open to ambition*; especially ever since Eugenius the IVth. had declared the place of a Cardinal above all other in the Church."

The theological part of Henry's education, was, no doubt, serviceable to him in the changes of a later period; but the reader will be astonished to learn that it had its effect at an earlier time than is usually supposed. The Cottonian manuscript Tiberius E. viii. contains the Ceremonial for his Coronation, prefixed to which is the Oath of the Sovereign *altered and interlined by* his own hand; one part especially indicating that Henry looked to something like supremacy in the Church of England, at the very outset of his reign.

The following is the Oath in its original form:

"The Othe of the Kings Highnes.

"This is the Othe that the King shall swere at his Coronation, that he shall kepe and mayntene the right and the liberties of Holie Churche of old tyme graunted by the rightuous Cristen Kings of England: and that he shall kepe all the londs, honours, and dignytees rightuous and fre of the Crowne of England in all maner hole, without any maner of mynysshement; and the rights of the Crowne, hurte, decayed, or lost, to his power shall call agayn into the auncyent astate; and that he shall kepe the peax of the Holie Churche, and of the Clergie, and of the People, with good accorde; and that he shall do in his judgements equytee and right justice, with discretion and mercye; and that he shall graunte to holde the Lawes and Customes of the Realme, and to his power kepe them and affirme them which the folk and people have made and chosen; and the evill Lawes and Customes hollie to put out; and stedfaste and stable peax to the people of his Realme kepe, and cause to be kept to his power."

The Oath, as altered, stands thus:

"The Othe of the Kings Highnes *at every Coronation.*

"The King shall *then* swere that he shall kepe and mayntene the lawfull right and the libertees of old tyme graunted by the ryghtuous Cristen Kings of Englond *to the* holy Chirche *off* England *nott prejudyciall to hys Jurysdyction and Dignite ryall, and that he* shall kepe all the londs, honours, and dignytees rightuous, and fredommes of the Crowne of Englond in all maner hole, without any maner of

mynysshement, and the rights of the Crowne hurte, decayed, or lost, to his power shall call agayn into the auncyent astate; and that he shall *indevore hymselfe* TO KEPE UNITE *in his* CLERGYE *and temporell subjects;* and that *he shall accordyng to his consiens* in *all* his judgements *mynystere* equytie, right, *and* justice, *shewyng whcr is to be shewyd mercy;* and that he shall graunte to hold the lawes and *approvyd* customes of the Realme, and *lawfull and nott prejudiciall to hys Crowne or Imperiall duty*, to his power kepe them and affirme them which the *noblys* and people have made and chosen *with his consent;* and the evill Lawes and Customes hollie to put out; and stedfaste and stable peax to the people of his realme kepe and cause to be kept to his power, *in that whych honour and equite do require.*"

A Fac Simile of this Oath, with the King's interlineations as they stand in the manuscript, forms the Frontispiece to the present Volume.

IT is probably not unknown to most of the readers of this Work, that whenever the Council of the Senate of Venice sent an ambassador to a foreign Country, in former times, they ordered him to study and report to them upon the circumstances of the State to which he was sent, its geographical condition, population, wealth, and various relations; with all that he could learn of the personal characters, not only of the Sovereign but of the principal members of his Court.[a]

The following was the description which Sebastiano Giustiniani, the Venetian resident in England in 1519, gave to the Council of the Pregati, of the person and manners of King Henry the Eighth.

"His Majesty is about twenty-nine years of age, as handsome as nature could form him, above any other Christian Prince; handsomer by far than the King of France. He is exceeding fair; and as well proportioned in every part as is possible. When he learned that the King of France wore a beard, he allowed his also to grow; which being somewhat red, has at present the appearance of being of gold. He is an excellent musician and composer; an admirable horseman and wrestler. He possesses a good knowledge of the French, Latin, and Spanish languages; and is very devout. On the days in which he goes to the chace, he hears mass three times; but on other days he goes as often as five times. He has every day service in the Queen's chamber at vespers and compline. He is uncommonly fond of the chace, and never indulges in this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. These he has stationed at the different places where he purposes to stop. When one is fatigued, he mounts another; and, by the time he returns home, they have all been used. He takes great delight in bowling, and it is the pleasantest sight

[a] See Foscarini della Letteratura Veneziana, p. 460. n. 398.

in the world to see him engaged in this exercise, with his fair skin covered with a beautifully fine shirt. He plays with the hostages of France, and it is said that they sport from six to eight thousand ducats in a day.[a] Affable and benign, he offends no one. He has often said to the Ambassador, he wished that every one was content with his condition. 'We are content with our Islands.' He is very desirous of preserving peace; and possesses great wealth."[b]

This seems the Character to which Henry the Eighth was really intitled in his earlier years; and it is corroborated no where more frequently than in the Letters of Erasmus and his friends. The business of the Divorce seems to have first roused the more angry passions of his nature. Wolsey perceived, and felt them, as we learn from the description of his Master which he gave, in his last moments, to Sir William Kyngeston. "He is sure a Prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, Master Kingston, if it chance hereafter you to be one of his privy counsell, as for your wisdom and other qualities ye are meet to be, I warn you to be well advised and assured what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again."[c]

Erasmus has comprised the state of England under Henry's dominion, six years later, in a single sentence. "In Anglia omnes aut MORS *sustulit*, aut METUS *contraxit*."[d]

[a] It is not impossible but that Lord Herbert may allude to this very circumstance. Speaking of Henry's various Exercises he says, "Together with these he used sometimes *Tennis* and *Dice*; at which certain Strangers used to play with him; till finding their cheatings, at length he chased them away." *Hist. of Henry VIIIth.* p. 13.

[b] Compendio della Relation de cl^mo. Sebastiani Giustiniano procr. e cavalier della Legation d'Inghilterra, havuta nel Consiglio de Pregati, alli x. Octobre, 1519. The original was communicated to the editor by B. H. Bright, Esq.

[c] Cavend. Life of Wolsey, Singer's edit. vol. i. p. 321.

[d] Erasmi Epist. Lugd. Bat. fol. 1706. tom. ii. col. 1519.

LETTER LX.

Answer to the Challenge of the Four Knights, at the Justs held in honor of the birth of a Prince, in 1511.

[CART. HARL. ANTIQ. 83 H. 1.]

*** Hall the chronicler has been remarkably minute upon the rejoicings which took place on New Year's Day 1511, when Katherine of Arragon produced a Prince to Henry the Eighth. Having described the pageant which was devised upon the feast of the Epiphany following, Hall says,

"Shortly after, and before the Queen's churching, the King rode to Walsingham. The Queen being churched or purified, the King and she removed from Richmond to Westminster, where was preparation for a solemn Justs in the honor of the Queen, the King being one, and with him three aids: His Grace being called *Cure loial*, the Lord William Earl of Devonshire called *Bon voloire*, Sir Thomas Knevet named *Bon espoir*, Sir Edward Nevil called *Valiaunt desire*, whose names were set UPON A GOODLY TABLE, and the table hanged in a tree curiously wrought, and they were called *Les quater Chivalers de la Forrest Salvigne*; these four to run at the tilt against all commers; with other certain Articles comprised in the said Table."

The Table here described is in reality the present Letter. It is preserved among the Harleian Charters, and is on vellum; on the left side, rising from the lower corner, a green tree is represented, ornamented alternately with roses and pomegranates; upon which, one above another, hang the Shields of the King and his Aids. The first or uppermost is the King's, it bears a heart and the letter L in gold joined by a true-love knot, upon a field gules and azure quarterly, for *Cœur loial*. The second shield, azure, bears the letters V. D. joined by another knot in gold; this was Sir Edward Neville's. The third, the Earl of Devonshire's, has B. V. and the knot in gold. The fourth, Sir Thomas Knevet's, has J. P. and the knot; *Joyous panser* being substituted in the actual Tablet, for Hall's *Bon espoir*. The Signatures of the King, and of the answerers of these Justs appear at the bottom, in their own handswriting. When Hall speaks of the names of these knights as "set upon

a goodly Table, and the Table hanged in a Tree," he alludes to the Ornaments round this Letter. The plaster, which still adheres to the back, indicates it to have been fixed against the wall at the entrance of the Lists.

BE it knowen to all men, that whereas certaine Letters have bene sent and directed unto the moost high noble and excellent princesse the Quene of England and of Fraunce, from her right dere and best beloved cousyn Noble Renome Quene of the Royalme named Ceure noble, having knowledge of the good and gracious fortune of the byrthe of a YONG PRYNCE that it hath pleased God to send to her and to her make;[a] which is the moost joye and comfort that mought be to her and to the moost renomed Royalme of England; considering the vailliantenes, vertues, and expert nobles,[b] which highly aboundeth in her moost derest cousyn the King of the same, hath sent iiij knyghtes borne in the Roialme of Ceure noble, whose names foloweth; that is to say, *Ceure loyall*, *Valliaunt desyre*, *Bone valoyr*, and *Joyous panser*, to accomplishe certaine feats of Armes, which at the instaunce and desire of the said Princesse hath goten and opteyned of the King our soverain lord licence to furnysshe and accomplishe thise Articles folowing.

And forasmoche as, after the order and honor of Armes, it is not lefull for any man to enterprise armes in soo high a presence withoute his stokke and name

[a] husband. [b] noblesse.

be of nobles descended; in consideracion, thise iiij Knightes be of soo ferre and straunge parties, they shall present theymself with theyr names portered[a] in theyr shyldes.

Item, thise iiij Knightes shall present themself in the feld at the palays of Richemount, or elleswhere it shall pleas the Kinges grace, at the tyme of Candelmas next or nigh therupon, in harneys for the Tylte, withoute tache or breket, wolant pece on the hede, rondell on the garde, reste of advantage, fraude, deceyt, or any other malengyne.

Item to every Comer shalbe ronne syx courses, provided alwey, if the comers be of soo grete nomber that they cannot resonably be answered for one day, it shall be lefull for the iiij chalengers to enter the felde the seconde daye, and soo to answer all the comers to the full nomber, be served of suche as be noble of name or of armes and withoute reproche.

Item, all speres to be garnished and brought to the felde at the provision and charges of the Chalengers, of the which speres the answerers alweys to have the choyce.

Item, if it happe any man, as God defend, to kyll his felowes horse by wey of foule ronnyng, he shalbe bounde that soo doth to gyve the hors that he rydeth on to his felowe, or the price of the horse soo kylled, at the discrecion of the Juges.

[a] pourtrayed.

Item, who stryketh his felowe beneth the waste, or in the sadell, with full course, by wey of foule ronnyng, he shalbe disallowed of ij speres before well broken.

Item, who striketh his felowe uncharged and disgarnysshed of his spere, shalbe disallowed at the discrecion of the Juges.

Item, who breketh his spere above the charnell to be allowed ij speres well broken, after the olde custume of Armes.

Item, who breketh his spere morne to morne, to be allowed iij speres after the custume of Armes.

Item, who breketh moost speres is worth the pryse.

Item, who striketh doun hors and man is better worth the prise.

Item, who striketh his felowe clene oute of the sadell, is best worth the pryse.

Item, if any gentilman chalenger, or defender, breke a staff on the tylt, to be disallowed a staffe.

Item, it is the pleasure of the King our moost dradde Soverain Lord, that the Quenes grace and the ladies, with the advice of the noble & discrete Juges, to gyve prises after their deservynges unto both the parties.

Item, that every gentilman answerer doo subscribe his name to the Articles.

Item, it is the humble request of thise iiij Gentilmen, that if in theyr articles be comprised more or lasse then honnor or curtesi requireth, ever to submytte

them to the Quene and the Ladies, and they alweys to adde and mynysshe at theyr noble pleasures.

At Westminster the xijth day of February the ij^{de} yere of our Soverain Lord King Henry the eight.

HENRY R.

The furst daye.

Rychard de Gray,
Thomas Cheyny,
William Par,
Robert Morton,
Richard Blunt,
Thomas Tyrell,
S^{r}. Rowland,
Cristoffer Wyloughby } 8.

The ijde. daye.

Thomas Howard — Charles Brandon
Henry Stafford erll of Whyllsyre — Edmund Howard
Lœnard Graey
Lord Marquis. John Grey — Ric. Tempest
Sr Thomas Boleyn. Henry Guilford — Thomas Lucy
John Melton Gryffyth Don.

HALL's Description of the Pageants thus devised for the 12th and 13th of February 1511, are singularly characteristic of the feats of Arms which marked these days of Chivalry.

"A place in the Palace was prepared for the King and also the Queen,

richly hanged, the inner part with cloth of gold, and the outer with rich cloth of arras. These Justs began the 13th day of February. After that, that the Queen with her train of ladies had taken their places, into the palace was conveyed a pageant of a great quantity, made like a forest, with rocks, hills, and dales, with divers sundry trees, flowers, hawthorns, fern, and grass, with six foresters standing within the same forest, garnished in coats and hoods of green velvet, by whom lay a great number of spears. All the trees, herbs, and flowers of the same forest were made of green velvet, green damask, and silk of divers colours, satin and sarcenet. In the midst of this forest was a Castle standing, made of gold, and before the castle-gate sat a gentleman freshly apparelled, making a garland of roses for the prize. This forest was drawn as it were by strength of two great beasts, a lion and an antelope; the lion flourished all over with damask gold, the antelope was wrought all over with silver of damask, his beams or hornes and tusks of gold: these beasts were led with certain men apparelled like wild men, or woodhouses, their bodies, heads, faces, hands, and legs, covered with green silk flushed. On either of the said antelope and lion sat a lady richly apparelled: the beasts were tied to the pageant with great chains of gold, as horses be in the cart. When the pageant rested before the Queen, the forenamed foresters blew their horns. Then the device or pageant opened on all sides, and out issued the foresaid four knights, armed at all pieces, every of them a spear in his hand on horseback, with great plumes on their heads, their basses and trappers of cloth of gold, every of them his name embroidered on his basse and trapper. On the other part with great noise, as well of trumpets as of drums, entered into the field the earl of Essex, the lord Thomas Howarde, with many other clean armed, their trappers and basses all of crimson satin embroidered with branches of pomegranates of gold, and posies, with many a fresh gentleman riding before them, their footmen also well apparelled: and so the Justs began, and endured all that day.

"The morrow, being the 13th day of February, after dinner, at time convenient, the Queen with the ladies repaired to see the Justs; the trumpets blew up, and in came many a nobleman and gentleman richly apparelled, taking up their horses; after whom followed certain lords apparelled, they and their horses, in cloth of gold and russet tinsel; knights in cloth of gold and russet velvet; and a great number of gentlemen on foot, in russet satin and yellow; and yeomen in russet damask and yellow: all the nether part of every man's hose scarlet; and yellow caps. Then came the King under a pavilion of cloth of gold and purple velvet embroidered, and powdered with H. and K. of fine gold; the compass of the pavilion above embroidered richly, and valanced with flat gold, beaten in wire; with an imperial crown in the top of fine gold; his

basses and trapper of cloth of gold fretted with damask gold, the trapper pendant to the tail; a crane and chafron of steel; in the front of the chafron was a goodly plume set full of musers or trembling spangles of gold. After followed his three aids, every of them under a pavilion of crimson damask and purple, powdered with H. and K. of fine gold, valanced and fringed with gold of damask: on the top of every pavilion a great K. of goldsmith's work. The number of the gentlemen and yeomen attendant a foot, apparelled in russet and yellow, was a hundred and sixty-eight. Then next these pavilions came twelve children of honor, sitting every of them on a great courser, richly trapped and embroidered in several devices and fashions; where lacked neither broidery nor goldsmith's work, so that every child and horse, in device and fashion, was contrary to other, which was goodly to behold.

"Then, on the counter part, entered Sir Charles Brandon, first on horseback, in a long robe of russet satin, like a recluse or a religious person, and his horse trapped in the same suit; without drum or noise of minstrelsy; putting a bill of petition to the Queen, the effect whereof was, that if it would please her to licence him to run in her presence, he would do it gladly; and if not, then he would depart as he came. After that his request was granted, then he put off his said habit, and was armed at all pieces, with rich basses, and horse also richly trapped; and so did run his horse to the tilt end, where divers men on foot apparelled in russet satin awaited on him. Next after came in alone young Henry Guilford, esquire, himself and his horse in russet cloth of gold and cloth of silver, closed in a device, or a pageant made like a castle or a turret, wrought of russet sarcenet florence, wrought, and set out in gold with his word or posey; and all his men in russet satin and white, with hose to the same, and their bonnets of like colours; demanding also licence of the Queen to run, which to him granted, took place at the end of the tilt. Then came next the Marquis Dorset and Sir Thomas Boleyn, like two pilgrims from Saint James, in tabards of black velvet, with palmers' hats on their helmets, with long Jacob's staves in their hands, their horse trappers of black velvet, their tabards, hats, and trappers set with scollop shells of fine gold and stripes of black velvet, every stripe set with a scollop shell; their servants all in black satin, with scollop shells of gold in their breasts. Soon after came in the lord Henry of Buckingham earl of Wiltshire; himself and his horse apparelled in cloth of silver, embroidered with a posey, or his word, and arrows of gold in a posey, called *La maison du refuge*, made of crimson damask, broidered with roses and arrows of gold; on the top a greyhound of silver, bearing a tree of pomegranates of gold; the branches thereof were so large that it overspread the pageant in all parts. Then entered Sir Giles Capell, Sir Rowland, with many other knights, richly armed and apparelled. And thus began

the Justs, which was valiantly achieved by the King and his aids, among whom his Grace attained the prize. These Justs finished, every man withdrew, the King was disarmed, and at time convenient he and the Queen heard even-song; and that night all the Ambassadors supped with the King, and had a great banquet. After supper, his Grace with the Queen, lords, and ladies, came into the White Hall, within the said palace, which was hanged richly; the Hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an interlude of the gentlemen of his chapel before his Grace, and divers fresh songs: that done, his Grace called to him a great man, or a lord of Ireland called Odonell, whom in the presence of the said ambassadors, he made knight: then the minstrels began to play, the lords and ladies began to dance.

"And in the most of this pastime, when all persons were most attentive to behold the dancing, the King was suddenly gone unknown to the most part of the people there, unless it were of the Queen and of certain other. Within a little while after his departing, the trumpets at the end of the Hall began to blow. Then was there a device or a pageant upon wheels brought in, out of the which pageant issued out a gentleman richly apparelled, that showed, how in a garden of pleasure there was an arbour of gold, wherein were lords and ladies, much desirous to show pleasure and pastime to the Queen and ladies, if they might be licensed so to do; who was answered by the Queen, how she and all other there were very desirous to see them and their pastime. Then a great cloth of arras that did hang before the same pageant was taken away, and the pageant brought more near: it was curiously made and pleasant to behold: it was solemn and rich, for every post or pillar thereof was covered with frise gold: therein were trees of hawthorn, eglantines, rosiers, vines, and other pleasant flowers of divers colours, with gillofers, and other herbs, all made of satin, damask, silk, silver, and gold, accordingly as the natural trees, herbs, or flowers ought to be. In which arbour were six ladies, all apparelled in white satin and green, set and embroidered full of H. and K. of gold, knit together with laces of gold, of damask; and all their garments were replenished with glittering spangles gilt over. On their heads were bonnets all opened at the four quarters, overfrised with flat gold of damask; the orrellettes were of rolls wreathed on lampas douck hollow, so that the gold showed through the lampas douck; the fassis of their head set full of new devised fashions. In this garden, also, was the King, and five with him, apparelled in garments of purple satin, all of cuts with H. and K. every edge garnished with frised gold, and every garment full of posies, made of letters of fine gold in bullion, as thick as they might be, and every person had his name in like letters of massy gold. The first *Cuer loyall;* the second *Bone volure;* in the third *Bone espoier;* the fourth *Valyaunt desyre;* the fifth *Bone foy;* the sixth *Amoure*

loyall. Their hose, caps, and coats, were full of posies and H. and K. of fine gold in bullion, so that the ground could scarce appear, and yet was in every void place spangles of gold. When time was come, the said pageant was brought forth into presence, and then descended a lord and a lady by couples, and then the minstrels, which were disguised, also danced, and the lords and ladies danced, that it was a pleasure to behold.

"In the mean season the pageant was conveyed to the end of the place, there to tarry till the dances were finished, and so to have received the lords and ladies again; but suddenly the rude people ran to the pageant, and rent, tore, and spoiled the pageant, so that the Lord Steward nor the head officers could not cause them to abstain, except they should have foughten and drawn blood; and so was this pageant broken.

"After the King and his companions had danced, he appointed the ladies, gentlewomen, and the ambassadors to take the letters of their garments in token of liberality, which thing the common people perceiving ran to the King, and stripped him into his hose and doublet, and all his companions in likewise. Sir Thomas Knevet stood on a stage, and for all his defence he lost his apparel. The ladies likewise were spoiled, wherefore the king's guard came suddenly, and put the people back, or else as it was supposed more inconvenience had ensued. So the King with the Queen and the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banquet, and all these hurts were turned to laughing and game; and thought that all that was taken away was but for honor and largess; and so this triumph ended with mirth and gladness. At this banquet, a shipman of London caught certain letters which he sold to a goldsmith for 3*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* by reason whereof it appeared that the garments were of a great value.

"After this great joy came sorrowful chance, for the young Prince, which was born upon new year's day last past, upon the 22d day of February, being then the even of Saint Matthew, departed this world at Richmond; and from thence was carried to Westminster, and buried."

The original Roll of the Tournament here described, splendidly illuminated, is still preserved among the Manuscripts in the Herald's College; and is one of the most magnificent relics now remaining of its kind. It is engraved in a reduced size in the Vetusta Monumenta of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. plates xxi. to xxvi. inclusive.

LETTER LXI.

Dr. William Knight to Thomas Wolsey the King's Almoner, A. D. 1512, concerning the affairs of Navarre.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. VESP. C. I. fol. 79. *Orig.*]

*** Katherine de Foix Queen of Navarre was married to John d'Albert Count de Perigord, Limoges, and Dreux, in the month of June 1484; he, as her husband, being allowed to reign in her right.

John d'Albert, however, embroiled his country in the quarrels of France and Castile, till, in 1512, Ferdinand the Catholic, without any declaration of war, overran his dominions in a few days; and, having offered terms which could not be accepted, dispossessed both him and Katherine.

John d'Albert's queen is said to have told her husband what was perhaps true; that, had she been JOHN and he KATHERINE, they had lived and died King and Queen of Navarre.

ENGLAND having joined the "Holy League" for the extinction of Schism and defence of the Roman Church, was, at this time, in alliance with Spain, and allowed the conquest of Navarre, *in the hope of ensuring her own conquest of Guienne.* Of the Army which she sent to Spain, under the command of the Marquis of Dorset, some curious particulars will be found in this and the ensuing Letter; such as lead us almost to consider it a fortunate circumstance that it was not brought into action. Stowe says, "The Englishmen, for the most part, were victualled with garlike, and drank hot wines, and eat hot fruits, which procured their blood to boil in their bodies, whereby they fell sick, and died, more than eight hundred persons. In the end, many promises being made by the King of Spain, and none performed, the Englishmen embarked, and landed in England in the month of December. The King of Spain seemed to be sore discontented with their departure, affirming that if they had tarried till the next spring, he would, in their company, have invaded France."[a]

Henry the Eighth, in the Letter which he wrote from Terouenne to

[a] Stowe, Ann. edit. 1631. p. 490.

James the Fourth of Scotland, the delivery of which was prevented by the fight at Flodden, reminded him of the fate of John d'Albert. "And yf the example of the King of Navarre beynge excluded from his royalme for assistence gyven to the Frenche Kinge cannot restrayne you from this unnaturall dealynge, we suppose ye shall have lyke assistence of the sayde Frenche Kynge as the. Kyng of Navarre hath nowe: who is a Kynge withoute a realme, and so the Frenche Kynge peaceably suffereth hym to contynue, whereunto good regard should be taken." *

Myne especyall good Mastre, aftyr my moost hertiest recommendation, pleasyth it your mastership to understand that the Kyngs armye is yet besides Fountrabie; the Armye of the Spagniards hath takyn Navarre, the King and the Quene beth fledd into Bierne which is parte of the Kyngdome of Navarre, but yt lyeth beyond the mowntaynys in playne contre toward Fraunce. Thei write that as soone as thei have fortified the Contre thei will joyne with oure Armye and folow th'entreprise of Guyen. Yt was allwaiys thowzt by the Kyng of Arragon, as he saide, that withowte the assuraunce of Navarre we cowde not prevaile in Guyen, and that he sware, as largeli as any nobleman myzte, that all that he dyd attempte or ymagine was for the furtheraunce of our entreprise. His grace had sent to the archebischop of Burdeos with many grete offers to see if he cowde wynne hym; he is brother unto Monsr. du Kendall, which is one of the noblest of Gascoigne, and of them, as the Kyng saiyth, that favorith rather oure mastyr than the Frensh King. Item the saide King hath sent the

* Hall, Chron. edit. 1548. Hen. VIII. fol. xxxl.

Prioure of Sci. Spiritus besydes the poorte of Saincte Adrian with his bulles of Indulgence into Guyen, and hath fownde the meanys as I herd the saide priour saye that the bishop of Bayone, and the bishop of Acus, which is within vij. leges of Bayone, had commaunded all such goostli fadyrs as shryveth, bi reason of the forsaide Indulgens, that thei shulde shew thair goostli Children that our holi father the Pope hath assoyled them of their oothys made unto the Frensh King, by reason that thei were his vassals, and avisynge them to recognise the Kings Grace of Inglond for their rightfull Soveraigne. And bi these meanys and other meny, lyke the Kyngs Grace of Arragon woll shew that he is fully mynded, with all his power and studye, to help oure entreprise. The bishops above namyd have laboryd to the Popis Oratoure that he myght make intercession for them, that thei be not deprived of thair benefices; and thei say thei will helpe in this entreprise; but if God gyve us the Contre I thynke yt shal be expedient that the Kings Grace have sum such as he may trust, and specialli in Bayone, thoz yt be but small in valew, for it passyth not a thousand ducats at the moost, and hereaftyr yt shalbe so myche the lesse worthe, because we have destroied and burnyd mych in the Contre, bothe contrarie to our statutes, and hynderaunce to oure voyage.

Owre armye lyyth contynualli idyll, and doith erthli

nothing but fede and slepe, by reason whereof cummyth mych inconvenience; for late daiys ther was a grete bend[a] of th'armye that schewid opynli that thei wolde serve no more under viij[d]. a daye, which was lyke to have caused grete troble in the hoost; but yt was pacyfyed, and oon suffred deth for the same; and now there is many bends that say they will returne home at Myghelmas and thei shulde dy therefore; and all this cummyth *ex nimio otio.* We practysed nevyr sith oure cummyng how we shuld behave us in warris, as all other men doyth, and as all that evyr I redd of have doone, specialli when the Armye is unlernyd and hathe not scene the feets[b] of warre. We moustre nevyr at no payment; and of a suyrte dyvers of our men beth slayne, and meny otherwaiyes dede, and sum stolne away. We folow nother owre Instructions nor Statutes; and I see hitt rather dayli wax wurs then amend. Meny of oure Cownsell may suffer no cownsell, wherfor yf it wold like yow to be so good Mastyr unto me as fynde the menys that the Kings Grace myght be good and graciouse unto me, and that I myht cum home, youre Mastership shulde bynde me so mych that I shuld nevyr be able to deserve hitt. There is no thing that moveth me to desyre this but fere of inconvenience that may grow upon the premisses, because of my dewtye and fervent love that I ow unto the Kings Grace. I write this unto your

[a] band. [b] feats.

Mastership, beseking the same to have respecte and regarde how ye discovyr this, for it myzt soone cost me my life in this cumpanie. Thei have me suspecte, because dyvers of them comynd, and I answerd as ferre as I durst; allso because thei see that the Kings Grace sent me a lettyr.

Syr, I beseke your Mastership let me know sum of your pleasur by my servant, whom I send especialli for the same cause; and hereafter if itt fortune your Mastership to write *agat caute*, for I see that thei loke in dyvers mennys lettyrs, and peraventur wold likewise in myne if I were not present. A good meanys to know the trowthe of suche things as is before writyn were to gyve in commandement to John Style secretli to write the trowthe of like things, yf he have not doone hitt or this tyme.

Syr, I have bene syth my cummyng bothe with the Kyng of Navarre and with the Kyng of Castell to my grete coost and charge, beseking your Mastership to have me for recommendyd unto the Kyngs Grace, whan ye shall see the tyme; and so doyng, his Grace shall have a faithfull servant of me, and your Mastership a trew bedeman during my life.

I beseke your Mastership excuse me to my Lord of Wynchester, that I write not unto hym at this tyme. Youre Mastership may comunycat with his Lordship asmooche of my lettyr as shall be your pleasur. We have had lettyrs after the premisses writyn from the

Kyng of Arragon which sheweth that the Kyng of Navarre hath fully offerd hymself to abyde suche bonds as the King of Arragon will demaunde.

And he demaundeth to have all the townys and castell and full governaunce of Navarre tyll suche tyme as Gascoigne and Guyen beth conqueryd. Allso that suche lands and possessions as hath bene withholden in tymys past from the Lord Mareshall of Navarre, item from the Erle of Saincte Stephans and the Lord John Beaumont, be fully restoryd. Item that for the assuraunce of the premisses the Prince of Navarre be delyvred unto the Kings grace of Arragon. Item that yf the Kyng of Navarre ayde or help the Frenshmen in doyng any displeasur against the Realme of Arragon, with his subgetts of Bierne, directe aut indirecte, *sentiet. et fatebitur se, ita faciendo, incidisse in crimen lesæ Majestatis.*

These bethe the Articles that the Kyng of Arragon demaundeth of the King of Navarre; the which if he agre unto, we shall immediatli goo to Bayone; yf noo, as soone as the Duke hath taken Allambure, Maya, and Saincte Jhoan au pie de la porte, which beth iij fortressis of Navarre upon the Frensh syde, then immediatli wee shall joyne.

These premisses moost be pondred by the Kings Grace and his moost noble Cownsell. A grete parte of oure cownsell taketh this delyng impacientli, but

what shall be expedient yt moost be determyned with yow.

Syr, I beseke your Mastership remembre my petition before, yf ye love me, as my trust is. Jhon Style shewith me that he writeth meny things at this tyme very plainly and expedient to be knowen. Thus the blessed Trynyte preserve your Mastership. From Founterabie the vth. of August.

Your faithfull and assured to the uttermoost of his power

WILLIAM KNYGHTE.

To the right honorable M. Thomas Wolcy Almonere to the Kings Grace of Englond.

LETTER LXII.

Dr. William Knight to Thomas Wolsey the King's Almoner. A. D. 1512. *Further advices from Navarre.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. I. fol. 81. *Orig.*]

MYNE especiall good Mastre after my moost hertiest recommendacions, pleasith it your good Mastership to understand that the xxviijth. of August yt was reasonyd in owre Cownsell who were moost expedient to

be sent unto the Kings grace to excuse oure retoure into Inglond: Where my Lord Marquise and all the Lords mynded William Kyngstoon and me to go, but S^r. William Sands and a few of his secte were in the contrarie opynyon of me; and this was his reason; he saide yt was not unknowen to them all that your Mastership was the grownde of all this myschefe, and that he was assuryd that I was in your favour; allso that this was the tyme that I went upon my promocion; wherefore if I went I shuld peraventur make sum reasons unto the Kings Grace by your advise, which myght gyve occasion to oure ferther abode here. This reason notwithstanding, it was determynd bi the Lords that Kingstoon and I shuld doo the forsaide message; whereupon immediatli we had oure Instructions delyvred and toke our ship at Saincte Sebastian. Aftyr we continued oon the Seeys vj. daiyes in grete tempest, so that with grete and long tribulacion we recovred the saide Porte of Saincte Sebastian, and there we had knowlege that there were Lettyrs cum owte of Inglond: wherefor we returned to my Lord Marquise to know parte of the Kings pleasur, and of hym I receyvid a lettyr from the Kings Grace and another loving lettyr from your good Mastership, bothe opynd. I herd allso the lettyr that the Kings Grace sent unto the Lord Marquise and all the Lords and Captains, which puttyth me in grete pensifnes when I remembre the small regarde that dyvers made

unto the saide lettyr. At the same tyme letters cam from the King of Arragon that his Armye taried for ourys at Saincte Jhon Pie de la Porte, where of a suyrte thei be at this tyme.

Upon the Kyngs letters and the King of Arragon oure Cownsell assembled at Renteria, where my Lord Broke and his rètynew lyeth; where I requyred them all to regarde acording to thaire dewty the Kings commaunedement. Item th'endenturs that thei had sealid unto the Kings Grace. Ovyr this I laide suche Articles of the tretise[a] before them as was expedient for the mater. Furthermore, as nere as I cowde, I laide dyvers inconvences and displeasurs that myght ensue bi oure light departing. Whereupon, like a noble man, my Lord Howard said that in case he might have a meteli cumpanie with him he wolde enduyr this Wyntyr Warre, and gladlier he wolde dye for the honour of his Master, the Realme, and himself, than contrarie to the Kings commaundement, with rebuke and shame, returne into Inglond. Whill this was reasonyd, oon departyd owte of the chambre and shewid my Lord Broks retynew that my Lord Howard and I wold have them contynew in this Warre. Whereupon, withowte, the comynalte dyd withstond, thei were like to goo into Bierne. Soo that immediatli the People arose, and said that what soevyr he were that wolde contynew in oure opynyon, suyrli thei wold slee hym, and so was I thre-

[a] treaties.

tynd in dyvers placys. The Answer of the Cownsell at that tyme and the behavyr of the peple, my Lord Howard and S^r^. Mores Barkley which were both of oon mynde can best shew at thair cummyng; Thowz meny things be as fer owte of order, and the Kings Grace as unlovingli oon^a^ sum partise served, as evyr was so noble a Prince; yet S^r^. in my symple opynyon this tyme requyreth grete dissymylacion, which was nevyr moore necessarie; for I promesse yow in my mynde here be meny light meen. Yt shall not nede that I write any more largeli, for here dyvers have begon to impute unto other the cause of this ungoodli departur, and this Contre spekith grete shame thereof.

Syr, aftyr the Cownsell at Renterie, William Kingstoon and I returned unto the seeys and likewise, as we were before, bi torment of the seeys we were compelled to recovre a Havyn; soo that now I have shewid my Lorde Marquise that I am not able to enduyr the seeys, and that I entend to tarye in the Kyng of Arragons Courte tyll sommyr. The trouthe is I am lothe to bring this message unto the Kings Grace: I beseke God itt mai be my fortune to bring that mai be more pleasaunt. And where oure departure and the abstinence for this Wynter of Warre shall gyve grete commodite to the Frensh King, to breke the lege betweene sum of the Kings confederation and hym, which undowztid shal be attemptid; considred allso that these Warres thus begoon can not thus ende withowte losse

of honour and other proficte; furthermore remembring that all Kings and noble men that shuld accomplishe thair grete entreprises, moost dayly be ascertaigned how other grete powers doyth determe, bi which meanys the Kings Grace of Arragon, oon of the wisyst and moost expert Princys this day lyving, hath obteigned dyvers grete Kyngdoms. Therefor I beseke your Mastership in whom lyyth all my confidence, yf it be thowht that I be mete to doo my Master any servyce, that I may have sum commaundement wher to occupie my self this Wynter to his honour and pleasur, whethre it be here or any parte of Italye, or other place of Cristindome, to whom I shall doo as faithfull and trew servyce as evyr dyd poure man to his Prince, and the best besides that I can. And in case that I have any like commaundement yt moost please you to be soo good master unto me that I may have sum convenient thing of his Grace for myne expenses, for, as your Mastyrship knoweth, I have litle to lyve on, and that litle that I have, bi such occasions as I have, I spend and wast daily, as now of late victailes upon the seeys have coost me beyond xx nobles, and all lost bi reason of the salt watyr; besides, in all besynes, as ryding in poost or otherwaiys, I am allwaiys oon, and nevyr have had recompence, nether yet desired any, nor hereaftyr wold if I were able to doo the Kings grace good servyce with that litle that I have. Syr at the reverence of God lay nothing to any mannys charge bi reason of my letters, or otherwaiys bi my meanys,

for if ye shulde, I shulde be had suspecte; for it is imagyned that I make your Mastership prevy to meny moo things than I doo. Ye shall know the trowthe of all that I write, and mych more, bothe of my Lord Howard, of Mr. Hatticlif and Richemount haraulde, which can shew yow of all the besynes of Navarre and of the towardnes of the Spagniards in owre entreprise, and with what besynes thei have passyd thaire Artiliarie the grete mountaynys; with other things dyvers, which when thei be herd, I fere owre excuses will not be graciousli herd. Ovyr this the King of Arragon seyng the obstinate mynde of our communyss requyred the Noble men to tarie, saiyng that the name of th'englishemen shuld be sufficient for our entreprise, for his Grace had men inowghe, and withoute he can as accessorie, he might not medyll, for thentreprise was owrys. Butt we regardyd that as we dyd other things; and sythins yt was my fortune to be oon of this Cownsell, which I have repentid a thousand tymys because of mennys willfull mynds, yet your Mastership perceyvid at all tymys bi my Letters that oure conclusion had no liklihood of goodnes. But how evyr yt be, the Kings Grace moost be comfortid, for his Grace hath obteignyd the cheife parte of his purpose, which was the delyveraunce of the Chirch from the cruel persecution of the Frenshmen. Allso bi oure beyng here the Kingdom of Navarre is assured for us, withoute which we cowde nevyr have prevailed in th'entreprise

of Guyen; nother thowz we had prevailid we cowde have contynued if the Navarres had bene oure ennymise. Qvyr this his Grace hath obteigned the title of 'The mooste Cristyn Kyng;' and I assure your Mastership in my mynde this jorney hath gyvyn so grete light to cownsell the good Ordre of an Armye, that yt had not beene expedient, for twise the money that is spent, but that thei had beene here and returned withoute meting of the puissaunce of thair ennymise. My reason is this, owre ennymise beth men of long contynuance yn Warres, full of policie, and were prive to all owre dedys; and we clene contrarie. Besides this, we nevyr exercised oure self to kepe oure arrays, nor to other feete,[a] in so myche that when oure Englishmen went into Fraunce thei wolde evyr be dyvydyd, that if a small power of the Frenshmen had cum on them thei had bene marrid. I say not this on myne owen opynion, thowh it be necessarie, butt I know bi experience sith I cam hethre, that Englishmen hath suffred rebuke bi like folye. Besides this, in the Kyngs provisions of Victails, His Grace was untrewli servyd. Item, in th'Ordonances I herd S^r^. Henr. Willugby say, that, among eight thousand bowys thei fynde not two hundred sufficient; likewise in othre things; which all may be amendyd, or we be put in daunger of oure ennymise bi the misorder of the same. Syr how evyr this mater passyth, at the reverence of God, help that

[a] feat.

all may be forgotyn for this tyme, for if any reproche shuld be laide to any oon man, he shall putt hit of to sum othre, and so to meny which might engendre besynes that at this tyme is not expedient. Here I have sent your Mastership a lettyr that Edward Hatticlif sent me, wherebi ye mai perceyve sumwhat, and more ye shall know of hym at his cummyng. And Sr. for the syngler good faithe and love that I ow, asmoche to your Mastership as to any man lyving, foresee and remembre all maters; for suyrli there hath been of the grete men of Inglond that have saide that the begynnyng of this Warre cam of your Mastreship, unknowing to them; and that yf the saide warre had not good and acceptable ende, that yt wolde be laide unto your charge. Syr pardon me in that that I am playne, my trew hert and mynde byndeth me thus to doo; for rather I shall forsake the Realme during my life, than I wolde see your Mastyrship suffre displeasur for like cause.

Syr, I beseke your Mastirship that I may have knowlege of your pleasur touching myne abode here, or other where to remove, for I will not determe but upon an answer of the Kings pleasur; and withowte I have hitt at the returne of this Ship, which ys payde for her retoure, I can not say when I shuld here from your Mastership. The bringer hereof, which is son in law to Jhon Style, returneth againe yf any commaundement cum. Howbeyt I think th'Armie will

departe long or his cummyng, for thei beth provyded of Shippes, and the bisquett is almoost bake, so that within viij. or x. daiys I thinke thei wilbe redy to ship yf the wynde serve. I mervaile that this tyme of the yere thei will aventure the Kings tresore upon the seeys for dyvers inconvences; and I have herd them say, that, if thei see any commodite thei will land in Britaigne. Sumtyme thei say thei will kepe the course that they made hetherwarde, and so I dowzt whereupon thei will remayne. Methynketh it were well doone that Syr Edward Howard met with them, for the more salvegard of the Kings tresore. The Flete of Fraunce is grete; there went in August, owte of the Havyn of Breste, xlvij. Shippis to the borders of the west Contre of Inglond; and xv. in to Irelond. Item xv. into Galice and x. remaynyd to kepe the coost of Britaigne. The xlvij. be returnyd to Brest, the rest be abrode; and sythins there beth cum vj. galeys from Italie, which laye abought Galice wele vj. weks, and were nevyr countred withall; thei have brought, as yt is saide, as gay artilliarie owte of Italie as there was none in all Fraunce. A Knyzt of th'ordre of Saincte John is thaire Capitayne the Spaynysh Flete shewid themself att Fountrabye owre lady day thassumpcion, and aftyrward departyd, so that nevyr sythyns we herd of them. The comyn opynyon is that thei be adjoyned with th'english Fleete.

Syr I fere me that I am tedious with this long

writing, but I trust my good mynde shall cause to be acceptable that othrewaiys myght be tediouse. And soo I beseeke your Mastership to contynew my good Master, thus Jhs preserve yow. From the towne of Saincte Sebastians the iiij. of Octobre.

By the hand of your assured
bedeman,

WILLIAM KNYGHT.

LETTER LXIII.

Doctor Knight to King Henry the VIIIth. upon the King of Arragon's truce with France; and proposing the restoration of the King of Navarre. A. D. 1513.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. I. fol. 86. *Orig.*]

PLEASYTH yt your Highness to understond, that the King of Arragon contynueth in his purpose to observe the treuys, that beth late taken betwene the Frensh King and hym, as straightli as yf thei had bene made upon good grownde and reasyn. And where yt was soo that newys were broughte unto this Courte, upon Sayncte Marks day, that your Gracis royall Armye by the seeys had discomfetied the Frensh flete; yt apperid bothe by thair countenances

here that the saide victorye contentyd not thayr mynde; and by thair other demenure, for thei dyd asmoche as lay in them to contrarie and destroye the fame of the sayde newys and victorie, as Don Petro Belis de Guyvarra I dowht not will shew right shortli unto your Grace. Ovyr thys, aftyr the fame of the saide newys where we laboured instauntly unto his Grace for Domyngo de Losa, whose movables beth excheted for selling of a Carrack unto your Highnes, contrarie unto the Statutes of this Contre, We fownde his Grace so sore moved with the selling of the said Carrack, that yt apperid that he was grevid that his shippes shuld be parte of th'occasion of the saide victorie, for before the forsaide tydings were broughte, his Grace gave unto us allwaiys comfortable aunswere in the saide cause, and promised to put a remedie in hytt, soo that yowr Highnes and your moost honorable Cownsayle may forsee and put remedy yf the King of Arragon wolde entende aftyr his cautelous manier the revoking of suche his Shippes as beth in your Gracis wagis. The forsaid newis were so joyfull unto us your Gracis subgetts here, that we desired of the King of Arragon to know what certaynte he had thereof, which aunswerd that he did know nothing thereof; but, aftyr thre daiys, when the same dyd more largeli encrease, he shewid unto us that he was enformed owte of Fraunce that the Frensh King gave in expresse commaundement to the Capitains of his Navye, that,

in case thei were not able to have the ovyrhand of th'englishmen, that thei shulde rather fyer thaire owen shippes then suffre them to be taken; wherein his meanyng was, bi all that I cowdē perceyve, that if there were any shippes distroied of the Frensh Flete, that yt was doone by themself, because of the commaundement of thair King, and not by your Graces royall Armye. And for because we wolde understand yf by any new occurrents the King wolde varye from the treuys, we therefore, meny tymys and oftyn, have beseched his Highnes to remembre the greate love that your Grace hath borne unto hym, and what charges, right nere importable for your royall Reame, hath ensued, withowte profite or honour, by folowing of his cownsell; but all this notwithstanding, his Grace is fynally determyd straightli to observe the saide treuys; nevertheles he aunswerid us, at oon tyme, that he wolde doo all that he was bownde to doo; but he spake hit in suche maniere and countenance, that yt semyd that he thowht hym not yn any maner meane bownde unto your Grace. At oon othre season, he aunswerid that he might send his Armye in Italye into Burgoigne; and, saving the treuys, help your Grace by that parties: but this woordis beth aftyr th'olde manier, for yf he were so entendyd, yet the yere wolde be ovyrgone or an Armye myht passe so ferre Contres. He hath saidē also that he might make warre in Bierne, but suyrli and yt like your Highnes,

under your Graces correction, that shuld not be profitable for your Hyghnes; for Bierne extendith under the mountaynys of Navarre allmoost from Bayone to Arragon; and by suche he wolde put your Grace betwene hym and his ennemise. And thus besides that he hath evydently brought your Grace into mervelous greate besynes, and hath doone extremely hetherto, contrarieng all bondes that myht be made betwene Cristen Princes, yet he desysteth not from his accoustomyd cautelis, but suyrle conceyvyth in his mynde greattyr myschiefe, yf yt be, as some saiyth, that dare speke prively th'opynyon of divers that favoreth thair naturell Prince, ys, that it shuld be the greattist joye unto the King of Arragon that evyr fortunyd unto hym, if the Prince of Castell were diseased, for soo he might be suyr to contynew Governour of Castell in manier during his life. At the cummyng of King Philip into this contre, the King of Arragon was as yt was thought uncourtesly entreatid, because he was commaundyd to avoyde this Reame within the space of xx. daiys; and yt is thought that yt was not doone withowte thadvise of your Graces dere fadre of most noble memorye. And whether he feryth that the Prince waxith to ripe in age, or that he remembreth those olde injuries, or that he wolde discuyr[a] the mariage betwene the Prince and my Lady Marye, I know not; but your Grace may suyrlie

[a] dissever.

ymagine that he is not wele disposed. The Yonger Soon of King Philip is but xi. yeris olde; borne in this Contre; and in mouche greate manier resembleth the King of Arragon.

And where your Grace hath lateli receywyd greate injurie under the dissymyld cownsell of the King of Arragon, which exhorted your Grace to these greate and dowtfull Warris, which dyd hit for none othre consideration but as your Grace now doyth evydently see; therefor I shall beseke your Highnes moost humbly to pardone me of that that I write of trew mynde and servyce that I am bownde to ow unto your Grace, syth the King of Arragon is determyd allwaiys in that that shal be agaynst good conscience. Yf th'Emperour and your Highnes determe and conclude that yt were expedient that the late King of Navarre be restored unto his Kingdom at suche tyme as yt shal be thought expedient by your Graces, as he that hath not offendyd othre[a] of your Graces, and as he that is wrongfully depryved of his Kingdoome, I am of thopynyon that th'Emperour wolde be in this begynnyng right easeli enducyd to graunte thereunto; and, so moche the rathre, because the King of Arragon adjoyneth Navarre with his Arragon; and not among the multitude of titles that belongeth to Castell. Thus your Grace shulde deserve of God to restore to his right hym, that were wrongfulli deprived. Ovyr this I thynk the saide late King wolde be glad to com-

[a] either.

pounde with your Grace to pay as he mighte a greate parte of the charges that your Grace made in these parties. Allso yt were a greate meane to the geting of Guyeen, in which the saide late King myht doo mouche by oon meane or othre; as, for to be restored there shulde be no thing requyred bi hym possible to be doone, that he wolde not gladli enforce hymself to doo. And yf the King of Arragon shuld be requyred to returne to his Kingdoome of Arragon he shuld not be the best neyghbour that your Grace myht have in Navarre, for he myght ovyrloke Guyeen at his pleasure. Furthermore yt shuld be a notable monition for evyr to all Cristyn Princes to kepe and observe thair lawfull promesses, or to thynk that thei mygt shortli lose, that bi suche unlawfull meanys they dyd gete; as by this example, yf yt cum to passe. Suyrly, in my poure mynde, yt shulde be great avauntage unto your Grace for the preservation of Guyeen that suche a King were in Navarre, that yf he wolde not be good for your Grace upon pure love, yet that he might fere to rebell for sum other consideration, as the late King of Navarre by reason of suche Lands as he shall holde of your Grace in Guyeen shulde not dare but to be loyal, which as I have herd say usyth these termyse oftyntymys: 'The Kings Grace of Inglond hath caused me to lose my Reame, and I trust his Grace shall help to restore me agayne.'

The vijth. of May, and it please your Highnes, tydings cam from Italye that the Venetians had entred

lege[a] with the Frensh King so that thei entende to dyvyde Lumbardie betwene them in this maner, that the Venetians shall have all the land that they wer wont to hold in that parties excepte Cremona, by reason whereof the King of Arragon hath shewed unto us that he will send ovyr immediatli moo men of warre; and sum saiyth, that he will send ovyr the greate Capitaine. The King of Arragon seyth that bi reason of this lege[a] th'Emperour, of all liklihood, will fully entre with your Grace, and that waieth greatli in his stomak; he beseketh God that th'Emperour may employe suche tresour as he hath receyvyd of your Grace in suche manier as yt may be profittable for your Highnes. I can not perceyve but that he thynketh contrarie; and undowted he hath doone his best, as your Grace doyth evidentli see, to have lefte your Highnes soole and alone in all these Warris; as by takyng of the treuys, by covering of the same, and lettyng of our lettres that your Grace were not advertised in tyme, allso by that that he saieth, that the saide treuys was made by thadvice of th'Emperour, which of all liklihood will now appere othrewaiys. But undowtid, as your Grace entendyth not but the recoverye of your evydent ryghte, so Allmighti Jhu shall send yt unto your Highnes, with the moost honour that evyr cam to Cristen King, for the which as my dewty ys I daili pray, and shall doo during my

[a] league.

life. Thus the Holy Goost send your moost noble Grace comforte. At Valledolide in Castell, this xijth. of Maye.

Your moost humble subgeet
and chapelain,
WILLIAM KNYGHTE.

LETTER LXIV.

Sir Robert Wingfield to King Henry the VIIIth. reporting the Victory of Novara.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA. B. III. fol. 83. *Orig.*]

*** Guicciardini, speaking of the Victory of Novara, uses these memorable words. "Ritornarono i vincitori quasi trionfanti, il dì medesimo a Novara, et con tanta fama per tutto'l mondo, che molti havevano ardire, considerato la magnanimita del proposito, il dispregio evidentissimo della morte, la ficrezza del combattere, et la felicita del successo, preporre questo fatto quasi a tutte le cose memorabili, che si leggono de Romani et de Greci." Hist. d'Ital. edit. 1569. p. 555. See also Paulus Jovius, and Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy, vol. ii. p. 98.

PLEASYTH youre Grace to undyrstonde that the xii^{h} of this present moneth I wroot unto you my last lettyrs from the town of Estlynge, conteynynge such matter as I was ware of at that tyme; and I trust it is weell in youre Graces consideration, that, whilst I have no postis at my comaund, thoow I do my dwte in wrytynge & spende monney to send my lettyrs to th' Emperours postmastir, yet there maye be oother delaye in the aprochinge of my sayde lettyrs to youre gratious handys thanne I woolde. And also that now in jour-

neyinge I am seldom in the place where newes aryve, my knowlege is in manner a daye afftyr the feeyre, to advertyse youre Grace with the fyrste, which incontennente must be suffyrde paciently duryng the while that th'Emperour is journeyinge. Nevyrthelesse because I knowe weell that the ij^{le} or iij^{le} knowlege of good tydyngges be nott so welcom as the fyrste, yet me semyth the confyrmation of good tydyngis ought to be right welcome, and therefore thoow these shall com late, yit I had lever youre Highnes blamyd the premysis thanne ony lachessness in me; and also I am seure that M. Loys Marreton, which hath comodite to knowe newes, faylyth nott to my Lady of Savoye, & from thence to youre Grace I doubt nott but youre dylygent servaunt Thomas Spynelly maakyth . . . postis to rynne.

Syr this mornynge there be newes comyn to this town that the dwke of Meleyn with the Swyssers have surprysyd the Frenche arme,[a] & clerly slayn all the Almeyns, & takyn the lordys of Tremoyle and Jhon Jamys of . . . . with many oothir Prysoners. Sagramour the viscounte, which was entyrde in to the City of Meleyn, was there slayne with many othir of his bende aftyr the forsayde ovyrthroowe of the Frensche arme was knowin. I trust that or it be long, there shalbe some good tydynges of some acte done by th' Emperours arme[a] and the Vice Roy agaynst the Vene-

[a] army.

tiens; & soone afftyr that th'Emperours viij.M. Swyssirs which hath ben now sumwhat flesschid at this entyrpryse, shall passe the mountyns in to Dolphynye, where th'Emperour hath apoyntyd a thowsand horsys to mete w^t^ theym, and soo it is to be trustyd veryly (the premyssis weell concidyrd) that youre Grace shall now have all the avauntagis and moo thanne aperyd the last yere; thoow it was thought by many experte folkes that the sayde avauntagis had ben harde to have be recovyrid. But such is God, and bettyr; which only is the heed of youre entyrprise, and hath gevyn the nobyll courage and hardynes to electe of youre sylf the coste, travell, & joupperde to atteyne the honnor and glory that must nedys folow of same, and in my conseyte withoughte fayle the parfecte recovere and ateynynge the Crowne of Fraunce w^t^ the grettest honnor & treumphe that evyr was harde or sene. God and saynt George to borows whom I beseche to preserve youre Grace in prosperous helthe, w^t^ longe lyffe, to his pleasyr. Wretyn at the town of Bruxsellis in Swabe[a] the xiij^th^ daye of June 1513, by the hande of youre humbyll and most boundyn serv^nte.

WYNGFELD, K.

Syre w^t^ these I sende unto youre grace the Copie of a letter the Swyssers wroott unto me.

[a] Brucksal, in Swabia.

LETTER LXV.

Sir Edward Howard, Lord Admiral, to King Henry the Eighth, upon the State of the King's Fleet. A. D. 1513.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 101. *Orig.*]

*** It is unfortunate that this curious document is so much mutilated as to be, in some parts, quite unintelligible.

Sir Edward Howard, the writer of it, fell a victim to his temerity in the harbour of Brest, in the very year in which he penned this Letter.

The Regent, the largest vessel in the English Navy, commanded by Sir Thomas Knyvet, had been burnt, in 1512, in a contest with the French fleet under Primauget, when Sir Thomas Knyvet lost his life. Sir Edward Howard made a vow to revenge the death of his friend, and fell himself in trying to accomplish it.

PLESITH your Grace to understand that the Saterday in the mornyng after your Grace departyd from your Fleet, we went downe to have goon in to the deps, but or we cam at the danger off the entryngg in to the depps callyd Gyrdelar hed, the wynd feeryd, [a] owt of the west north west in to the est north est, wherfor we were fayn to goo to an ancre for that day. And the same mornyng that I cam toward the depps I commanded a . . [b] off the smal shippes as wold goo the next way to the Downes, to get them over the landes end, and . . . . went that way both the new Barkes, the Lesard, the Swalow, and an viij moor off the smal Shippes.

[a] veered. [b] all?

The resydew kept with us thorow the depps: and, Sir, al Palm Sondey we steryd[a] not, for the wynd was heer with us at est by sowth, whiche was the rygth curse[b] that we shuld draw to d . . . On mondey the wynd cam west sowth west, which was very good for us, and . . we slept it not, for at the begynyng off the flood we wer al under sayle. And . . . . . first settyng off . . . . . slakyng wher the Kateryn Fortaleza saylyd very weel . . . . . Al suche shippes as maad sayl even to gydder with her onys a quarter off a . . . . . iij myl saylyng your good shipp the Flowr I trow off al shipps that ever saylyd rekenyng . . . . every shipp, and cam within iij speer length off the Kateryn, & spak to John Fle . . . Peter Seman, & to Freman master, to beer record that the Mary Roose dyd feche her at the to . . . best way and the Marys wurst way, and so, Sir, within a myle saylyng left her an flyt . . at the sterne; and she al the other saving a v or syx smal shipps whiche cut o . . the forland the next wey. And Sir then our curs[b] chanched[c] and went hard uppon a bowlyn . . the forland wher the Mary Roose, your noble shipp, fet the Mary George, the Kateryn prove a back th . . . lord Ferys hyryd, the Leonard off Dertmowth, and som off them weer iiij long myle afor m . . . or ever I

[a] stirred. [b] course. [c] changed.

cam to the forland. The next shipp that was to me, but the Sovereyn, was iij myl behynd; but the Sovereyn past not half a myle behynd me. Sir she is the noblest shipp off sayle . . . gret shipp at this howr that I trow be in cristendom. A shipp of C tone wyl not be soner at her . . abowt then she . When I came to an ancre I called for pen & ynk to mark what shippes . . . to me for thei cam al by me to an ancre. The first next the Mary Roose was the Sovereyn, then the Nycholas, then the Leonard of Dertmowth, then the Mary Georg, then the Herry of Hampton, then the Anne, then the Nycholas Montrygo called the Sanche .... de Garra, then the Kateryn, then the Mary . . . Sir one after another. Ther was a fowle tayle betwen the Mary Roose, and the aftermest was the Marya de Loretta. And the Crist was one off the wurst this day; she may beer . . . sayl, no mor may the Kateryn; I trust we shal remedy her wel inowgh that she shal felaw with the best. Sir she is over laden with ordenauns, besyd her hevy toppes, which ar big inowgh for a shipp of viii or ixC.[a] Sir we had not ben at an ancre at the forland but the wynd .... upp at the norther burd so stryvably that we cowd ryd no lenger ther withowt gret danger, ... we weyd to get us in to the Downes thorowgh the Gowlls. And when we wer in the myddes, betwen the brakks & the Godwyn, the wynd ferd[b] owt agayn to the west sowth west,

[a] eight or nine hundred ton. [b] veered.

wher we wer feyn to mak with your gret Shippes iij or iiij tornys, and God knoweth . . . . . row chanel at low water. As we took it, the Sovereyn and the Mary stayd a quarter off a myle off the Goodwyn sandes and the Marya de Loretta offerd her . . . . . off it and was fayne to goo abowt with a for wynd bak . . . . . where that she lyth I . . . . . fechen the Downes with many tornys, and thankyd be God . . . . . Downes at an ancre in safte. And I pray God that he send our vital sh . . . . . for in cristendom owt of one realme was never seen such a fleet a . . . . . with our Barkettes com to us that the first fair wynd that cometh we mygth be doying . . . . . saw never poor men so in corraag to be doyng as your men bee. I besech your Grace . . . . . myscontent that I mak so long a matter in writyng to yow, and off no mater off substance, but that ye commanded me to send your Grace word how every Shipp dyd sail; and this same was the best tryall that cowd be, for we went both slakyng & by a bowlyn, and a cool a cors & a bouet in such wyse that few shippes lakkyd no water in, over the lee wales; Sir the shippes off Bristow be her with me. I assur yowr Grace gorgeas shippes for ther burdon, one that Antony Poynges is in uppon a ix[xx]. and another of viij[xx]. and another of vij[xx].[a] I had not spoke when I wrot this letter. I understand thei lak vital; I have writton to Master Amener[b] for itt and

[a] Nine, eight, and seven score.

[b] Master Almoner, that is Wolsey.

for the maryneres. Your Grace must command Master Amner to mak a warrant to Ble . . . to deliver to Hopton CC. hernes[a] for them, which shall send it down in the vytall . . . . . no mor news to writ to your Grace as att this tyme, but that the next fair wedd . . . . lye heer in the Downes, I wyl send furth your ij newbarkes the Lysard . . . . . barges the Baptyst off Herwyche, to play up and down betwen Dover & Caleys . . . . purchas wyl fal in ther handes that we mygth have some news therby owt off . . . Sir for Godes sak hast your Consell to send us down our vitall, for iff we shall lye long the comon voys wyl roon that we lye & kep in the Downes, & doo no good but spend mony & vitall. And so the noys wyl ron to our shames, thow your Grace know well that we can no otherwys doo withowt we shuld leve our vitall & felaws behynd us. I remit al thys to the order off your moost noble Grace, whom I pray God preserve from al adversite, and send yow as much victory off your enemys as ever had eny off your noble Ancetry. Writton in the Mary Roose by your moost bownden subject & your poor Admerall.

EDWARD HOWARD.

To the Kynges noble Grace from
the Admerall.

[a] qu. harness.

THE Reader will not be displeased to have three Papers introduced here as appendages to the present Letter, which afford a complete View of the State and Condition of Henry the Eighth's Navy in the 17th. and 18th. years of his reign.

They are preserved among the Rolls and Charters which formerly belonged to his own Library, marked 14 B. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.

1.

"Here aftur ensuethe the Names of all the Kings Schipps, aswell that rydethe within the Portte and Haven of Portsmeth as thoo that rydethe within the Ryvere of Themmys, the xxijth. daye of Octobre in the xvijth. yeer of owre moste drade Soveren Lorde Kinge Henry the viijth.

The GABRYELL ROYALL, of the tonnege of DCC. tonnes; and of the age of xvj. yeres.

The MARYE ROSSE, of the tonnege of vC. tonne; and of the age of xiiij. yeres.

The PETUR POMGARNET, of the tonnege of CCC.xl. tonnes; and of the age of xiiij. yeres.

The JOHN BAPTISTE, of the tonnege of iiij.C. tonnes; and of age xiij. yeres.

The GRETTE BARKE, of tonnege CC. tonnes; and of age xij. yere.

The LESSER BARKE, of the tonnege of Clx. tonnes; and of age xij. yere.

The MARY JAMES, of tonnege CClx. tonne; and of age xvj. yere.

The MARY GEORGE, of tonnege CCxl. tonnes; and of age xv. yeres.

The MARY AND JOHNE of the tonnege of ij.C. tonne; and of age iiij. yeres.

The PRIMEROSE, of the tonnege of Clx. tonne; and of age ij. yere.

The MINION, off the tonnege of Clxxx. tonne; and all newe.

The MAUDELEN OF DEPFORDE, of the tonnege of Cxx. tonne; and off the age of iij. yeres.

The KATERNE BARKE, of the tonneg of C. tonne; and of age iij. yeres.

The MARY IMPEREALL, of tonnege Cxx.; and of age too yere.

The BARKE OF BULLEN,[a] of the tonnege of lxxx. tonne; and of the age of xiiij. yeres.

The TRINITE HENRYE, of the age of vj. yeres; and of tonnege iiij.xx. tonne.

The BARKE OF MURLESSE,[b] of tonnege of lx. tonne; and newe made.

The SWEPSTAKE, of the tonnege of lxv. tonne; and iij. yere olde.

The SWALOWE, of the tonnege off lx. tonne; and newe made.

The GRYFFYN, of tonnege off lxxx. tonne; and of age xiiij. yeres.

The GRETT SABRA, of the tonnege of fyftye tonnes; and iij. yere olde.

[a] Bologne. [b] Morlaix.

The LESSERE SABRA, of the tonnege of xl. tonne; and of age iij. yeres.

The JOHN OF GRENEWYCHE, of the tonnege of l. tonne; and of xij. yere olde.

The PRISSE[a] taken by Thomas Sperte, of the tonnege of three score tonne; and of age xv. yeres.

The HULKE of the tonnege of Clx. tonnes; and of age iij. yere.

The MARY GYLFORDE, of the tonnege of Clx. tonne; and of age, oon yere."

2:

"An Abstracte of the Daily Charges for the Kyngs Shipps yet remaynyng the xvj. day of November in the xviij. yere of his Reigne.

The HENRY GRACE A DIEU. } For wages of viij. maryners her kepers, every moneth with their vitailles iiij^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. that is in the yere accompting xiij. monethes in the yere lvj^{li}. xix^{s}. viij^{d}.

The MARY ROSE. } For wages and vitailles of viij. maryners her kepers, every moneth jiij^{li}. xij^{s}. viij^{d}. that is in a like yere lx^{li}. iiij^{s}. viij^{d}.

Item more for vj. cables that she must consume every yere, by estymacion xlij^{li}.

The GABRIELL ROIALL. } Item for wages and vitailles of x. maryners her kepers, every moneth v^{li}. xiij. iiij^{d}. in a lyke yere lxxiij^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Item for viij. cables that she must consume every yere by estymacion iiij^{xx}.^{li}.

The PETER POMEGARNARD. } For wages and vitailes of vj. maryners kepers, every moneth iij^{li}. xij. That is in a lyke yere xlvj^{li}. xvj^{s}.

Item more for vj. cabulls that she must consume every yere by estymacion xlij^{li}.

The GREAT BARK. } For wages and vitailles of iiij. maryners her kepers, every monethe xlvj^{s}. viij^{d}. That is in a lyke yere xxx^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}.

Item more for vj. cabulls that she must consume yerely by estimacion xxx^{li}.

The LESSE BARK. } For wages and vitailes of iij. maryners her kepers, every moneth xxxvj^{s}. viij^{d}. That is in a lyke yere xxiij^{li}. xvj^{s}. viij^{d}.

Item more for iij. cabulls that she must consume every yere by estymacion xx^{li}.

[a] Prize.

The GREAT GALLEY. } For wages and vitailles of oon maryner her keper, every moneth x^{s}. iiij^{d}. That is in a lyke yere vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

The MARY GEORGE. } For wages and vitailles of oon maryner her keper, every moneth x^{s}. iiij^{d}. That is in a lyke yere vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Item more for ij. cabulls that she must yerely consume x^{li}.

The KATERYN GALEY. } For wages and vitailles of oon mariner her keper, every moneth x^{s}. iiij^{d}. That is in a like yere vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Item for ij. cabulls that she must consume yerely by estimacion vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

The SWEPE-STAK. } For wages and vitailles of oon maryner her keper, every moneth x^{s}. iiij^{d}. That is in a lyke yere vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Item more for ij. cabulls that she must consume by estymacion vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

The SWALOWE. } For wages and vitailes of oon mariner her keper, every monethe x^{s}. iiij^{d}. That ys in a lyke yere vj^{li}. xiiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Item more for ij. cabulls that she must consume yerely by estymacion vj^{li}.

Sum of wages and vitailles every moneth xxv^{li}. vj^{d}. That is in the yere of xiij. monethes CCClxxv^{li}. vj^{s}. vj^{d}. And of the Cabulls every yere by estymacion CCxliij^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}.

Sum total v^{c}.lxviij^{li}. xiij^{s}. ij^{d}.

And more othir twoo Ships called *the* MYNEON[a] and *the* MARY GILDEFORD be not yet comen from Burdeux, wherfore the charges in kepyng of theym is not here put in.

Also more for mayntenyng of the great Ships Dock at Portesmouth, and calkyng of alle the said Ships, yt cannot be nerly extemed."

3.

"Hereafter insuyth certeyn Articles wherein is conteynyd aswell the state, maner, and what case the Kyng our most Sovereyn Lords Shypps be nowe, in as of and for the costs and charges that our seyd Sovereyn Lorde susteynyth and yerly ys atte for them.

[a] Mignon.

" The HARRY GRACE DE DEWE rydyth at Norflete wher as she spendyth yerly ij.C^{li}. in wagys and vyttels; and more then ij.C^{li}. and above in cabulles, cabulletts, and haulsers, oon yere with an other. And as we thynke the myght be a dokk at Eryth made for hyr for vj.C^{li}. wherin she myght be brought and kepte nye a flote both a full See and lowe water, and at her ease and more suer then where she ys: and oons within thys v. yere there must a Dok be made for hyr to calke and serche hyr under water, and then shall the sayd Dok cost as muche in maner as yt shall doo nowe; and the charges afforeseyd not mynyshyd; whyche wylbe in v. yere ij. thowsand pound besyde the adventur of foule wether and the sse . . . } iiij.C^{li}.

" *The* GABRYELL RYALL, *the* KATERYN FORTUNE, *the* JOHN BAPTYST, *the* BARBERA, *the* MARY GLORIA, *the* MARY JOHN, *the* MARY GEORGE, and *the* NEW BARKE, they spende yerly in wages and vyttell a Cxxxvj^{li}. x^{s}. and they spende in cabuls, cabullets, and haulsers, at the lest as muche more; whyche Shypps ar good for merchandyse to goo into Spayne, Levant, Bordeowse, Ysland, and Flaunders, yf they myght be sett a warke, and yf not our seyd Sovereyn Lorde shall within fewe yerys loose his seyd Shypps and charges afforeseyd, except they be new kalkyd and trymmyd . . . . . } ij.Clxxiij^{li}.

" *The* GREATE GALEY, *the* MARY ROOSE, *the* PETER POUNGARNETT, *the* GREAT BARKE, *the* LESSE BARKE, and the ij. ROBARGES[a] whych vij. Shypps spende xxxix^{li}. whyche Shypps be good for the werrys, or els to be kept for our Sovereyn Lordes pleasure, and yeit they must be kalkyd, ther overlopys, summer castels, and dekks, shortely after Marche . . . . . } xxxix^{li}.

" Whyche Shypps byfore that they were brought in to the Dok where they be nowe, stode the Kyngs Grace in charge of vij.C. marke, within a lyttyl more or lesse, every yere.

" The SOVEREYN, *the* GREATE NYCHOLAS, *the* MARY JAMYS, and *the* HARRY OF HAMPTON, all they must have an newe makyng or they do the Kyngs Grace ony servyce; whyche Shypps spende noo thyng but them selff."

[a] Row barges.

The Royal Manuscript in the Museum, 14 B. XXVIII. preserves the charges of the King's Navy for a month, for thirty-six Ships, then at Portsmouth, in the 31st Hen. VIII. amounting to 1425*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* The number of Seamen was 1613. Each ship had a certain number of *dead shares* allowed, according to its complement, varying from six to twenty-one in different ships, at five and six shillings a share.

LETTER LXVI.

Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey: a naval despatch.

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN F. XIII. fol. 137 b. *Orig.*]

*** There is nothing in this Letter to fix its date with precision; though it is probable that it was written in 1522, when Sir William Fitzwilliam, being recalled from his embassy in France, was commanded to sea, with a strong fleet, to secure the English merchants.[a]

This able Commander was one of the chief officers of the fleet which was sent against the French in 1513, in which year he was knighted. In 1520 he was made Vice-admiral; and in 1523 Admiral of the English fleet. In the 21st Hen. VIIIth. he subscribed the articles which were exhibited against Wolsey. In the 28th Hen. VIIIth. being knight of the garter, treasurer of the household, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, he was constituted Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascoine, and Aquitaine: and in the following year became Earl of Southampton. He died in 1542.

PLEASE it your Grace to understande, that, on tewesday I cam a boorde the Peter, in verrey fowle weder; which hath contynued ever sythens fowler and fowler, in such wise, that in my lif I have not been in

[a] See Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631. pp. 514, 515.

worse weder. And ever the wynde at South west, soo stragnably, that we can bere noo Sayle to lye by: and yf we shulde goo to the See there were no remedye, but goo with Flaunders, at the next. But assoone as God shall sende weder any thing mete for men to goo to the see, I shall slowe no tyme. And at my commyng hider, ner as yet, I fynde but ix Sayles, besides the Passengers and boottes of Rye; for neyther the Ships bee come from by North, ner yet the Ships that bee in Zelland, ner noon from Portesmouth, ner also the Ships oute of Thames. Howbeit I suppose the new Barke, and the Angell of Deptford, bee come to the Forland.

As for newes I have noon to sende your Grace as yet, but I beseche your Grace, not oonly to cause Weldon to hast hider the vitailles, for lenger then Fryday we have noo vitailles here, but also that I maye have a Commission, for here is oon man, which kylled an other, and diverse other mysordres besides. Also please it your Grace as yet I spake for no wages for my self, howbeit yf it bee the kinges pleasor I shall serve hym without wages; I am right wel contented soo to doo. And yf it bee his pleasor I shal have wages, gyve me what yt shall please you. Mr. Pointz hath vj. s. viij.d. the day, Mr. Wyndeham had x. s. the day, and Sir Edward Haward had xx. s., as the blessed Trinitie knowith, who ever have your Grace, in his blessed tuycion. Written in the Downes

the xxix th. day of July, by your servaunt to the best of my power.

WYLLIAM FYTZ WYLLIAMS.

LETTER LXVII.

O'Donnel, the Irish rebel, to King Henry VIIIth. exculpating himself.

[MS. COTTON. VESPASIAN. F. XIII. fol. 144 b. *Orig.*]

*** The O'Donnels of the North of Ireland were a powerful family in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth. One of them, probably the writer of this Letter, has been already mentioned, from Hall, as receiving knighthood at the Justs which Henry the Eighth held at Westminster in 1511, in honour of the birth of a Prince.

The intercourse which was carried on between the O'Donnels and James the Fourth and James the Fifth of Scotland gave Henry the Eighth some uneasiness. The O'Donnel of the present Letter, who, it is believed, was Odo the son of Odo Odonnel, seems to have been sensible of it.

AFTER all due and moste humble recommendacions, please it youre Grace to cawes the Letter that y do sende unto your Hyghnes by this youre servant and subjecte, Pers Yonge maryner and master of the Mawdeham of London, dwellynge at Reclef[a] besides London, to be rede in the presence of youre Grace. Also y beseche youre Grace to here the saied Pers to speke in my behalf, and to hime gew[b] credence for

[a] Radcliffe. [b] give.

myn excus, whiche in my mynde y nedede not for any offence that ever y dude against youre Highnes, but only for the murmor that hathe ben for my goinge into Skotlande, unto whiche y thinke youre Grace have taken no credence. And that it wolde pleas youre noble grace to cawes youre gracious mynd to be write unto me, in and for the causes that y have write unto youre Highnes; and allso of suche as the saede youre subject Pers, afor write, shall shewe youre Grace; and efter youre writynge had, y shall endewoyre myself the best y can or may unto my power for the honowre of youre Highnes ande the welthe of this pore Lande, by the helpe of God ho[a] ever encreas the prosperite of youre moste wictorious and Royall estat. Writ in Maner of Dongall, the xij. day of Janywer, the yere 1514.

Youre humble servant,

O DONAILL.

[a] who.

LETTER LXVIII.

Cardinal Bainbridge to K. Henry the VIIIth. a Letter of Intelligence; the practises of the French at Rome.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. II. fol. 77. *Orig.*]

*** In the former Series, the Editor of these Volumes, in commenting upon the mysterious death of Cardinal Baynbrigge at Rome, in 1514, quoted a few lines of a Letter from the Cardinal himself to King Henry the Eighth, which Bishop Kennett had transcribed among his own manuscript Collections; and which certainly afforded ground to suspect that Sylvester de Giglis who then held the bishoprick of Worcester, and who resided at Rome, was at least hostile to the Cardinal (with whom he was supposed to act) in politicks, if he did not instigate his murder. The original of that Letter, which was thought to have been burnt, has been since discovered, and is now laid before the reader entire.

PLEAS itt your Grace att sundrie tymes hertofore I have writen unto the same the demenours of sundrie parsons that of dutie shulde in worde and deade be your Graces trewe and faithfull subgiettes, whiche me semyde shuld have been lokide uppon, and hath hedretowardes been litill regardide by your Graces most honourable Consaill. Albeitt, during the tyme of myne aboode here in this Courtt, I noder can ne woll desiste to signifie unto your Highnes suche thynges as I shall perceve that be dissonantt owder[a] to your Graces honour or welthe of your Realme. If my

[a] either.

writing shall be regardid by your Grace and your saide moste honourable Consaill I shall be verrey glad; if nott I shall moste humblelie besiche your Highnes t'accept my goode mynde, and to remembre here aftur that as your trew and faithfull subgiett I dide my dutie in that behalf. As touchyng my Lorde of Worcestre your Graces Oratour of late tyme, his Secretary, uppon the dirke nyght, was mett commyng furthe of the Franshe Kings Oratours housse, the Busshop of Marsilia, with a torche light borne behynde hym; and wher his way towardes his Masters housse lay straightlie by my gattes, he wentt oon odre way homewarde by a secret bake layne, a goode space from thence; hereof is trewe and honeste recorde. The said Fransh Oratour is knowne manifestlie towardes your Grace and Realme as greatt enymye, as of his power is any odre within the Realme of France. Your saide Oratour doithe use contynually the company of the Protectour of France, boith in the Citie and also in vynes and garthynges[a] withoutt the Citie, boithe by day and nyght, wherof right honourable men, your Graces frendes, haith att sundrie tymes advertised me; and that he is more familier withe hym then with any Cardinall of Rome. Itt is perfitlie known unto every Englishman within this Citie that hath bene in company with your saide Oratour, that noo thyng can be more odiouse unto hym then to

[a] Vineyards and gardens.

here of any prousperous succession of your Graces causes, or for to here ony honour spoken of your Realme or subgiettes. What soo ever haith been shewide here concernyng your Graces honour ower[a] by writing from Englonde or odre places uppon your moste noble actes and victories obteignyde ayainste your enymes, he hath boith oppenlie and secretlie mynyshed itt by his wordes to th'extremitie of his power; this thynge is here manyfeste boithe to Englishemen and odre. Your said Oratours Secretary shewide unto a right credible person that his master, with the said Protectour of France, did trihumphe and maike goode chere togedre, using thies wordes 'Latt thies barbarous people of France and Englond every oon kill odre what shuld we care therfore, soo we have their money to maike merye withall here. Noo force of the Reste.' Sundrie Cardinals, and monye odre grett men also, haith shewide me that they marvaill your Grace woll use suche oon infamyde person to be your Oratour; who is namyde here universally the Falsarie Oratour of Englonde. I doubt nott butt that som of your Graces Consaill woll say unto your Highnes that I doo speke this uppon malice, as perauenture they have saide hertofore, when I have likelie writen ayanste odre; and that I was mean to bryng hym into Rome in Pope Julis' days. Also that I sollicitide the Popis Holines that nowe is to admytt hym to the rowme of

[a] either.

your Graces Oratour, using hym conjunctlie with me in your Graces causes unto nowe of late, and that I have aunswerd your Highnes by letters by us boith subscribide, thinking therby that of moche lesse congruence I may thus writt ayanste hym. Verralie I may nott say unto your Grace that I bere towardes hym any grett favours; and that partlie for his untrouthe shewid towardes my self which I truste be nott unknown unto your Grace and your most honourable Consaill; for wher in all my letters sentt unto your Grace I uside boithe his knowlege, advise, and subscription, he dide procure thynges of your Highnes by his own writinges without owdre my knowlege, consentt, or subscripcion, tho all I had like auctoritie as he had, whiche butt oonlie for my trouthe and diligence, knowne here in your Graces causes, hade been to my moste extreme dishonour. Albeitt I bere hym moche lesse favour for his untreuthe towardes your Grace and Realme, whiche I dalie perceve more and more. What soo ever I wrott ayanste odre men heretofore, I assure your Grace I wrott unto the same the verray trouthe and no thyng els. Itt is of trouthe I brought hym into Rome in Pope Julis days oonlie at your Graces desire and commandementt, which was in maner to my infynyte labours and busines. Att whiche tyme, soo God be my help, Pope Julie shewide me expresslie that (tho for your Graces saike, and partlie at my desire, he was contentid to suffre hym com to

Rome as a private person, never to be in office thare, ne auctoritie,) he shulde undoubtidlie within short space serve owdre your Grace or me or boithe as untreulie as he hade doon hym. His Holines shewide the same to th'ambassadour of Arragon in myne absence, as the said Ambassadour shewide me. I doo perceve the saide monicion somdeall commyne to passe. I pray God that heraftur itt be noo warsse. In like maner I movide the Popis Holines that nowe is for his admission as your Graces Oratour by your saide commaundmentt, and soo long as I see hym diligentt in your saide causes, perceving in hym noo untrouthe ne suspicion, I uside hym accordinglie, and maide of hym like reapportt unto your Grace But aftur that nott oonlie by reapport of mony men, butt also that manyfestlie I percevide the contrarye, I nodre have sollicitide your causes with hym ne suffride hym to subscribe my letters ne (your Grace nott offendide) I never intende to doo during my lyve. Wherfore nott withstanding ony evill will that I bere towardes hym, uppon my faith and trouthe I doo writt noo thing aganste hym butt oonlie verray trouthe, and whiche that is owdre manifeste or probable; and wher latelle I shewide unto the Popis Holines the letter from your Graces Ambassadours my self sool, nott calling your said Oratour ther unto, tho all itt was directide unto us boithe, wherof I sentt you aunswer from his saide Holines according to his commandmentt, verralie I soo dide oon-

lie for the causes premiside. As touchyng the *Breve super nomine Christianissimi Regis*, wherof I sentt unto your Grace a Copie of long tymes passide with the Popis pleasour, also how he was contentide to writt your Grace withe the same stile in all his Breves that he shulde directt unto you after that he knewe your Grace shulde be contentide therwithe and that he wer advertiside from you in that behalf, I doo gretlie mervale that I never sithens had worde of your Graces receving therof ne your forsaide pleasour; by cause I never couthe see your saide Oratour contentide with thobtentt of the said Breve, ne that labour shuld be made for speciall confirmacion therof, (whiche he ever reaputide in maner as impossible to be gotten,) I can therfore moche rather conjectour that by some crafty waye he haithe been barr that your letters shulde com unto my haundes for that intentt. If your said letters have commyne unto his haundes oonlie, then I thinke verralie he haithe sollicitide the matier rather aftur his own apetite then for your Graces honour. Your Grace shall receve with thies presenttes a letter directide unto the same for my Lorde the Cardinall of Swices als Sedunẽn. I doo perceve by his sundrie letters latelie sentt unto me that bothe his saide Lordship and his contrymen contynuythe perseverantlie in their goode and perfitte myndes towardes your Highnes and your moste blisside and honourable interprise, whiche I shall besiche the blisside Trynitie to make fortunate, with

the prousperous preservacion of your moste roiall and highe estate. From Rome the xxth day of May M.D.xiiij.

(Postscript entirely in the Cardinal's hand.)

I doute not bot your Grace one your accustommat wiesdome dothe persave what trought, love, and kyendenes is founde in strangers as wel touerts your Highnes as other of your subjectes in thees your grete affaires and interprises, and that frome the highes degre unto the loueste: thus I shall beseche Almyghty Jhu to preserve the sayme and that it may be my fortone to see your grace and feyde the sayme wher te good memorij of Pope Julij wishit I shulde. Rome ut supra by your mooste humble subjecte and beedman.

CHRI. EBORUM, CARDINALIS ANGLIÆ.

To the Kings Grace.

LETTER LXIX.

Charles Earl of Worcester to Cardinal Wolsey: detailing the particulars of an audience from Louis the XIIth. previous to the marriage with Mary of England.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 196.]

*** From this and a succeeding Letter, we learn that the proposal for an Interview with Henry the Eighth, between Ardres and Guisnes, of which so much has been said in the former Series of this Work, was first made in 1514, by Louis the XIIth. The amatory feelings of Louis the XIIth., in his old age, are not unamusing.

MYNE especiall good Lord, I humbly recomaund me unto you, and according to your last lettre that plesid you to sende me, datid at Sittyngborne the xxvijth. daie of Septembre, I have this daye, at a good leyser and a lone, spoken with the King, wiche gave me good and longe audiens. Furst I shewid him at lenght of the Ambassadours of Arongs[a] saieng, and of his desires and offurs; also of the Kinges Graces aunswer theruppon; of the wiche aunswer I assure you he wes veray glad and well contentid, and badde me to ascertayne the King his good and kynde brother, that he had and wolde gif the said King of Arogon

[a] Aragons.

semblable aunswere, as he hadde shewid my felowes and me before: and in lyke maner to the Emprour and the Prince of Castell; whansoever they send to him, as he is credably enformed that they woll shortly doo. And he suare by the God that he belyvid on, that he wold nowder medle nor conclude amytee, nor entree in leage by waye of mariage or otherwise, with any Prince leving,[a] till he hadde spoken with the King my master and hadde his advyse and counsaill in the same: and soo he desired me to write and assure the Kinges Grace. And if this promyse to me made content not his said Grace, he wold make hym any bonde that he wold; but his word shuld be assure as any bonde in the world. Over this he shewid me that the said King of Arogon sent him a blanke seall to put in what he wold, and he send it him ageyn and aunswerd that he wold not medle with him but as is aforesaid. Moreover he said, that whansoever the Kinges Grace wol have the nombre of men that he is bonden by the treatie to have, he shal have them, and asmany more if it be his pleasur to serve his Grace ayenst any Prince leving,[a] noon reserved nor exceptid. And this word he rehersid me iij. tymes, and badde me not to faille to advertise his Grace therof; and moreover he said the Kinges Grace shuld name and appointe the chief Leder and Captayne whom he wold, owther in Englond or in Fraunce; and he that wold disobeye

[a] living.

his commaundement, beyng his subgiet, he shuld dye for at a shamefull dethe. Also he saithe that whille he levithe, he wol doo nothing that may be to the hurt or displesour of the Kings Grace; nor leve the amytie, consideracion, and hertie love that is betwixt them, for all the Princes leving.[a] My Lord I assure you this word he spake as hertely as ever I saw any man speke. After all this comunycacion, he askid me whan the Kinges Grace and he shuld see and speke togeder, and wher, for nowe ther wes nothing that he soo sore desired, and for that cause he wold not goo further than Pares or x leges abought, till he knewe the King his brothers plessour. I aunswerd him es my fellowes and I hadde aunswerd afore; but he desired me that I wold wryte to the King his brother that what tyme that he wolde appointe, the wynter ones passed, he wolde not faille; and also that he desireth him to appointe the place and[b] therof that he might be ascertaynede that he may make preparacion for it, and also to have theryn further comunycacion. As fore[c] as I can perceyve, he wold fayne it were in some of these Townes of Picardye, or else betwixt Bolayne and Caleis, if the Kinges Grace will not come to some of his Townes in these parties, or in Normandye.

I shewyd hym that I wolde not faille to ascertayne the Kings Grace of his mynde. As touching Jane Popyncourt I wold a shewid him the billes signed, but

[a] living. [b] *So in the MS.*: and time? ED. [c] far.

in no wise he wold here more speking of her, and desired me as I lovid hym to speke nomore of her; for he wold she were brente, for my felowes and I hadde shewid hym inowe of hur evill life. Moreover he said that ther shuld never man nor woman be abought his Wife but suche as shuld be at hur contentacion and plessour; and that he spake for the said Jane, it was at the sute and desire of my Lord Longevile, as he tould me and my fellous before; for he tould hym that the Quene lovid and trustid hur above all the gentilwomen that she had abought hur: but if the King made hur to be brent he shall do but well, and a good dede.

My Lord I assure you he hathe a mervelous mynde to content and plees the Quene, and synse he herd of hur londing, wiche was this morneng, ther is nothing can displees him; and is devysing new collers and goodly gere for hur. Ther was in his chambre but my Lord of Pares, Robertett, and the Generall, and I, wher he shewid me the godeliest and the richest sight of Jowelles that ever I sawe. I wold never have bilevid it if I hade not seen yt; for I assure you all that ever I have seen is not to compare to lvj^{ti}. great peces that I sawe of dyamonds and rubyes, and vjj. of the grettest perles that I have seen, besides a great nomber of other goodly diamonds, rubyes, balais, and great perles; and the worste of the seconde sorte of stones be preysid and coste ij$^{M.}$ ducates. Ther is

x. or xij. of the principall stones, that ther hathe ben refusid, for oon of them oon honderd thousand ducates. And whan he hadde shewid me all, he said that all shulde be for his wife. And another coffer also was ther that was full of goodly gyrdelles, collers, chenys, braslettes, bedes of gould, and other dyverse goodly jewelles: but merely[a] lawghing he said, My Wife shall not have all at ones, but at dyverse tymes; for he wold have many and at diverse tymes kysses and thankes for them. I assure you he thynketh every ower a daye till he sethe hur; he is never well but whan he herethe speking of hur. I make no doubte but she shall have a good lyfe with him, with the grace of God.

My Lord I have made him your humble recommendacions, and well at lenght shewid him all your mater according to your Letter; wheruppon he aunswerd me that the Letter that was sent was unknowing to him, and soo said Robertett before me. But at Pares it was made by the Counsaill and avise of the Parlement for the maynteyneng of his right of his Souveraynte of Flanders. And his mynde was nor never shal be to do that thing that shuld be to your hurt or displesour, but to do that in hym is to do you honour and prouffite; and that if God gife hym life ye shall knowe, for he repute you for oon of his speciall loveng frendes, and desirethe you to take noo dis-

[a] merrily.

plesor of that Letter, for in no maner of wyse he wol suffre in that mater nor other to be doon contrarye your wille: and moreover said, that, if ye wol, he wol make the Electe to leve all his title and right to you, for the mater is yet in his handes; and therwith toke me by th'ande, being present Robertett and the Generall, and said that he knewe well that I lovid you, therfor he put the mater in my handes; if I wold saie that ye wold have it, ye shuld have it; and badde me do theryn as I wold; for soo it shuld be: of the wiche his saieng I hartely thankid hym in your name, and aunswerd hym, that, of his good, kynde, loveng, and favorable mynde that he bare you, with other good wordes, as well as I cowde speke, that I wold avertise you therof; and than he said he wold wryte you a Letter wiche he wold I shuld sende you; but he innowise woll wryte to my Lady, for he saithe he wol not wryte to hur that he knowithe lovithe him not. And this was the aunswer that I had.

My good Lord I am sory that I can do no better in the mater, but what ye wol that I shall further do in yt I pray you that I may be avertisid therof, and in that and all other your causes to the uttermost of my power I shall fulfill youre mynde, with the grace of God; whom I pray to have you, myne especiall good Lord, in his blessid kepyng. Wrettyn at Abevill the iij^{de}. daie of Octobr.

My Lord as I was abought to close this letter the

Generall sent me a Letter to sende you, wiche is annexed unto this lettre, also Robertett sent me word that he hathe sent you the Kinges Lettre that I shoold a sent to you, and a lettre of his owen to you, pakked in a packet of letters whiche he hathe sent to Mareny bailly of Senlys: wich letters I make not doubte but they wol come to your handes.

Assured yours to my power,

C. WORCEST.

LETTER LXX.

The Earl of Worcester and Dr. West to King Henry the Eighth. A fragment only. A. D. 1514.

[MS. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 199.]

* * * * *

HE gaf us right herty thanks, sayeng that we did hym the moost singulier plaisor that we coude do; and soo we departed for that night, for it was somwhat late.

Item, the said Monday in the mornyng,[a] all thyng was performed according to the said appointement, and the Matrimony was solemnised by the Cardinall of

[a] Oct. 9th.

. . . . . .[a] which songe the highe Masse. The Quene that day kept her state apart in a Chaumber with certen Princesses at her table ende, and all th'ambassadours dyned in a Chaumber with the Duc of Bretaign. The residue of lordes, ladyes, and gentilwomen dyned in the greate Chaumber. And that same day the Kyng gaf her a marvellous great pointed diamond, with a rubye almost two unches longe, without foil, which was estemed by som men to ten thousand marcs.

Item, on Tuysday, the Kyng gaf her a rubie two unches and an half longe, and as bigge as a mannes fynger, hangyng by two chaynes of gold at every end, without any foil; the value wherof few men coude esteme; and the same day we dyned with the aforesaid Duc of Bretayn at his logyng, wher we wer right honorably feasted and entretayned; and after dyner, he withdrew us in to a Chaumber apart, and ther he shewed us toguedre his good mynde towarde your Grace and the Quene your suster, according as we have in our former letters writen to your Highnesse, with soo good wordes and soo herty affection, that it moved all the herers as we doute not but the Lordes at their comyng hom wole shewe your Grace: for he desired them that sithens the Erle of Angolesme might not com to your presence to beyre therle of Angolesmes hert to you, which he said shuld be yours duryng his

[a] *a blank in the original.* ED.

lyf, and ye shuld never make werre with any Prynce christened, but if his Maister wold gyf hym licence he wold be at your Grace is comaundement with all his power, with many other good and herty wordes which we doute not but the Lordes wole at large declare to your Highnes; and at aftir none we rode to the Court, and there went to communicacion with the Counsell upon suche matiers as we had in charge, as well for the deliverance of the Juelles, Plate, Stuff, and other thynges which is performed according to th'instructions; as also to knowe the state of the Quene and the noumber of the persones that shuld remaign with her in service, and with what wages or pension they shuld be entertayned; wherein they aunswerd us that they wold speke with the Kyng in those matiers, and shew us his plaisour the next day, Wednesday.

Item, Wednesday, the Kyng gaf the Quene a great Diamont a tablet, with a great rounde Pearle hangyng by it; and every day he gaf her also Rynges with stones of greate estimation: and the same day we dined with the Duc of Alanson, and at afternone we rode to the Court and comoned with the Counsell of the aforesaid matiers; wherin such determinacion was taken as we doute not but the said Lordes wole shew your Grace at lenght. They shewed us also, the same tyme, that the Kyng wold departe the morrowe, Thursday; and soo he shewed us hymself, wherfor the Lordes seyng that all thynges wer perfited according to their

instructions, thought good to take their leyf that night, and soo they did.

Item, forsomuch as ther was a generall clause put in the last Instructions, that all th'ambassadours shuld returne agayn from Abbevill and goo no farder, we therfor, willing to fulfill your Graces commaundement, and doutyng wheder we that had speciall comaundement of your Highnesse, aswell by mouth as by our Instructions, to sollicite the brief Coronacion of the Quene, and also to be present at the same, shuld return home, which we wold gladly have doon if it might have stonden with your plaisure, or elles shuld remayn according to your Graces former comaundement, commoned with my Lord of Norfolk and other of your Graces Counsell here, desiryng theym to shew us if they coude your plaisure in that behalf. And the said Lord of Norfolk said that we shuld doo according to your said former comaundement; and that the generall clause extended not to us, but to theym that came at that tyme with the Quene; and therfor, according to your Graces comaundement and their advise, we shall endevor us for the acomplisshement of the same to the best of our powers, and from tyme to tyme ascertaign your Grace of such newes as shal be occurraunt here.

Item, this Friday, my Lord of Norfolk and other lordes and gentilmen, depart from this Town toward your Highnesse. The Frenshe Kyng maketh semblaunce as he wold depart every daye, but yet he lyeth,

still ever excusing hym by his goute. The Quene is continually with hym, of whom he maketh asmuch, as she reporteth to us herself, as it is possible for any man to make of a Lady. And thus Jhesus have your moost noble Grace in his blessed tuition. Writen at Abbevile the xiijth. day of October

By your moost humble servantes
and subgiettes

C. WORCESTR.

NI. WEST.

LETTER LXXI.

The Earl of Worcester to Wolsey, giving the King of France's reasons for the return of Lady Guildford.

[MS. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 201. *Orig.*]

*** The dismissal of "Mother Guldeford" as she was stiled, with nearly the whole of the female retinue of the Queen of France the morning after her marriage, has already been detailed in the former Series[a] of these Letters by the Queen herself. From this Letter it appears that the person meant was the LADY GUILDFORD: and we have here the King's reasons for insisting upon her departure.

MYNE especiall goode Lorde, I hertely recommaund me unto you. The ij^{de} daye of this present monethe I receyved your letter dated at Eltham the xxijth daye

[a] Vol. i. pp. 115, 117.

of October, by the wiche I perceyve and knowe the King my Soverain Lordes mynde and plessour what I shuld do touching the retorne of my Lady Gilford. Also what your mynde is that I shuld do for your mater of Tournay. My good Lord, as touching the retorne of my Lady Gilford, I have doon to my power and in the best waye that I cowde to the Frenche King; and he hathe aunswerd me that his wife and he be in good and perfaite love es ever any two creatures can be, and bothe of age to rewle them selfe, and not to have servantes that shuld loke to rewle him or hur. If his wife nede of counsaill or to be rewlid, he is able to do hit; but he was sure it was never the Quenes mynde nor desire to have hur ageyn, for assone as she came a lond, and also whan he was maried, she began to take uppon hur not oonly to rewle the Quene, but also that she shuld not come to hym but she shuld be with hur; nor that noo Lady nor Lord shuld speke with hur but she shuld here hit; and began to sett a murmure and banding amonges Ladies of the Court: and than he sware that ther was never man that better loved his wife than he did, but or he wold have suche a woman abought hur, he hadde lever be without hur; and he said that he knewe well whan the King his good and loveng brother knewe this his aunswer, he wold be contentid; for in nowise he wold not have hur abought his wife. Also he said that he is a sekely body, and not at altymes that he wold be mery with

his wife to have any strange woman with hur, but oon that he is well acquentid withall, afore whom he durste be mery; and that he is sure the Quene his wife is content withall, for he hathe sett abought hur nowder[a] lady nor gentilwoman to be with hur for hur Mastres, but hur servantes, and to obbeye hur comaundementes. Uppon which aunswere, seing he in no wise wold have hur, I aunswerd him agein soo that he was content, and soo I make noo doute but the Kinges Grace wold be, for the aunswer was well debated or I gave hit, es his Grace and you shall knowe at my comyng, wiche I trust shal be shortly; for I purpose to departe homward the xijth day of this moneth: for all the charge that my felous and I, and also that I was chargid with my good Lord of Suffolk and my Lord Marquis, wol be doon and concluded asmocheas can be at this tyme, within this iij daies. Es touching your mater of Tournay, I did sende you from Abeville the Letter directed to my Lady of Savoye accordinge to your desire, also the Electe was comaunded not further to medle nor noon of his Officers; and in lyke wise ther was a Letter sent to the Frenche Kings ambassadour at Rome noo further to medle ageinst you, and uppon your said last letter I have spoken to the said King according to your desire, and he is well content to recompence the saide Electe and hathe comaundid the said tresourer Robertett and the Ge-

[a] neither.

nerall of Normandye to speke with the President of Parlement, fader of the said Electe, to aggree for the said recompence; wiche they wold doo without fawte this day or to morowe at the furthest: and also ther shall goo another Letter to his Ambassadour to Rome; and the said King badde me to sende him word that without faille the said Electe shall make al suche releas or writing as ye can desire for your suertye therof. Or ever I deperte I woll knowe a perfaite ende theryn, and after the advyse and counsaill of master Dean of Wyndesore I woll cause to be made writing, if he thinke that any may be made, for your suertie, before ye sende to Rome; or else I woll order the mater soo that at altymes whan ye wol sende for them that ye shall have theym. My good Lord, the King here hathe desired me to write to you that he hertely desirs you that in his name ye desire his good brother and cousin, if God sende hym a sonne, that he may be godfader as he was last; for in soo doing he shall do hym a right great plessour. And he wol sende a good and honorable personage to be ther ageinst the Quenes delyverance, to represent his personne, and to do the acte in his name; also the said personne shal have auctorite to speke, comune, and conclude for ther metyng, and of other secrett maters. And of this he desires you that he may be ascertayned of his good brothars mynde and plesier be your writing; for assone as he hathe aunswer he woll dispache his said ambassadour.

My Lord the Frenche Quene tould me that she loved my Lady Gilford well, but she is content that she come not, for she is in that case that she may well be without hur, for she may do what she wolle. I pray God that soo it may ever contynue to his plessour, whom I pray to have you, myne especiall good Lord, in his blessid keping. Wrettyn at Saint Denyse the vjth daie of November.

Assurly yours to my power

C. WORCESTER.

Myne especiall good Lord my Lord Archebusshop of Yorke.

LETTER LXXII.

The Duke of Suffolk and the other Ambassadors in France to the King, giving an account of their Negociations, the Coronation of the Queen, &c.

[MS. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 203. *Orig.*]

PLEASE it your Grace, Sir, the last day of October the Kyng and Quene came to Sainct Denys, and send to Parys to us the Tresourer Robertett, prayeng us to remayn there the furst and seconde day of November for the great Solemnitie of the Feastes of Alhalowes and All Soules, and on Friday the third day of No-

vember he prayed us to com to Sainct Denys aforesaid, and then my Lord of Suffolke and my Lord Marques might deliver there your moost honourable letters and shewe their credence, which the Frenshe Kyng wold be glad to here, and then we shuld also know his determinate mynde aswell for the Coronation of the Quene as for her Entre into Parys. The said Friday aboute x. of clok we came to Sainct Denys according to the said appointement, and imediately we wer sent for into th'Abbey, and conveyed into a chaumber wher we dyned; and after dyner we wer brought into the Kynges presence, wher after your moost herty recommendations and deliverence of your moost honorable letters by my said Lord of Suffolke in due forme made, the Lordes, according to their instructions, gaf thankes, aswell for the honorable recevyng and metyng of the Quenes Grace at her furst arryvaill at Bolayn, and specially in his own person at Abbeville, as also for the lovyng and honorable entertayneng of her ever sithe, and for the good recuoil[a] doon to your Ambassadours late beyng with the Quene at Abbevile aforesaid.

Item, they shewed hym that by your ambassadours letters, that wer here befor, your Grace understode how well mynded and desirous he was for th'Enterview to be had, betwixt your Highnes and hym; and therfor to th'entent that he might understand that ye wer

[a] regale, welcome.

of no lesse mynde towards the same then he, your Grace had geven speciall comaundement to theym and to my Lord Chaumberlayn, and us that wer here bifor, to commune, treate, and conclude of the tyme and place most convenient for the same; and also of the maner and form therof, and with what noumbre either partie shuld com. And as touching this point, he hertely thanked your Grace, sayeng that his Counsell shuld forthwith goo with us to comune therupon: and after som comunication had with his Grace for the Quenes Coronacion, which he said shuld be upon Sonday folowing, and th'Entree into Parys upon Monday, we wer brought into the Duc of Longuevilles chaumber, wher was the Cardinall of Pree, the said Duc of Longuevile, Monsr. Bussaige, the Tresourer Robertett, and the Generall of Normandie; and after som comunication had there, we made overture of the said metyng to be at your Town of Calys, persuading, by all reasons that we coude devise, that place to be most convenient therfor. Howbeit they wold in nowise agree therto, sayeng that it was not convenient for divers consideracions, and specially the weyknes of their Maister considred. They said they trusted that your Grace wold not desire hym to labour so fare; and after som replication to the same, we lefte that matre undertermyned, and fell to Comunication of the tyme, and astouching that poynt, forsomuch as Esterday fallethe the viij th day of April, the nigh-

nesse of the said Feast and your passaye over seye considred, we thought it might not be before the xxth of the said Monyth, wherunto they wer somwhat agreable for that tyme; and therwith they fell into comunication agayn of the place, desiryng us to make overture of some other place; and seyng that they wold in nowise agree upon Calys, we made overture of Sainct Peters, sayeing that that was the furdest place that we had in Commission to treate upon, to th'entent we might the rather induce theym to condescend upon the same; and albeit they wer not contented with that place, yet they said they wold comune with the Kyng bothe of the place and tyme by us mensioned, and know his pleasur, and therupon commune with us agayn, and at this poynt we departed for that tyme.

Item, Sonday the v.th. day of November, the Quene was crowned, and bifore she came to the Churche, the space of an hour, Monsr. de Mombrancy[a] came to my Lord of Suffolkes logyng, wher we were all toguedre, and desired us to come to the Church, to take up our places ordened for us or the presse came, and soo we did. The said place was ordened at the on ende of the Quere, on the right side of the highe aulter, right afore the place wher the Quene shuld be anoynted; and within an hour after she came in, accompanyed with a great companye of noblemen and ladyes; the Duc of Bretaign led her, and bifore her came the Duc

[a] Montmorency.

of Alanson, the Duc of Bourbon, the Duc of Longuevile, the Duc of Albany, the Duc of Bourbon is broder, the Countie of Vaundon, and the Countie of Sainct Poll, with many other noblemen and ladyes, in soo great noumber that it were to longe to write it, and also we cannot obtayn the knowlege of theym all. And furst the Quenes Grace knelld bifore the aulter in a place prepared therfor, and there the said Cardinall of Pree anoynted her, and after delivered her the Scepter in her right hande, and the vierge of the hand of Justice [a] in her lyfte hand; and after that he put a ryng upon her fynger, and fourtly he sette the Crown on her hed, which doon, the said Duc of Bretaign led her up a stage made on the lyfte side of the aulter, directly before us, where she was sette in a chayr undre a throne, and the said Duc stode behynde her holding the Crown from her hed to ease her of the weight therof; and then began the highe masse songen by the said Cardinall, wherat the Quene offred, and after agnus she was houseld, [b] and, masse doon, she departed to the Palays, and we to our logyngs to our dyners. Howbeit, bifore our departeng, the tresourer Robertett desired us to com agayn after dyner, and then we shuld know the Kynges plais^r. upon our said matiers.

Item, immediately after dyner we came to the Duc of Longueviles Chaumber, wher we founde the said

[a] The virga, or rod of justice. [b] i. e. received the sacrament.

Cardinall, the Duc of Longueville, Monsr. de Tremoille, the Busshop of Parys, Monsr. de Piennez, the treasourer Robertet, and the Generall, and after som comunication we fell agayn to reasonnyng of the said tyme and place, and at last they said that the Kyng had appointed Monsr. de Piennez that knew the cuntrey to be ther presente, and to name some place, indifferent wher the said place might be, and he named Arde or some place betwixt that place and Guysnes, wherunto we wold not agree, but oonly stake upon Sainct Pieters; and with that they withdrewe theym apart and counselled togueder a good season, and then they came to this poynt that your Grace shuld come to your Town of Dover ther too remayn, and the Frenshe Kyng to Bolayn, and to send Comissioners afore on bothe parties to view a ground upon the lymyts of your Marches, betwixt Arde and Guysnes, or elles betwixt Bolayn and Calys, moost mete for your said Metyng and Entervieu; and to agree aswell upon the same, as also upon the noumber that shall come with bothe parties, for it is to be supposed that they that shuld vieu and see the grounde shuld better appointe the said place and noumber according to the daunger of the same, then they that wer there and knew not the said ground; and of this their overture they prayed us to ascertayn your Grace, sayeng that it was the Kyng their maisters mynde, and more over to desire your Grace that the said Interview might be

as nighe the begynnyng of the monyth of April as your Grace might conveniently, forsomuch as he entendeth to send his armyee over the Mounts in Merche, for the recovery of his right of Ast and Millayn, and folowe theym hymsèlf assone as he might, as fare as Grannoble,[a] because he wolde be nighe theym, which they said he wolde in nowise doo till he had seen your Grace; wherof they desired us t'ascertayn your Highnes, trusting that ye wolde therfore the rather hast the matier, lest by reason of his longe taryeng his enterprise this yere might be of small effect; for the heats of the yere comyng upon his men of armes, might doo nothyng, and after som reasonnyng with theym, we drewe our self apart and debated the matier amongest oureself; and forsomuch as they said it was the Kynges resolute mynde, and therby your Grace shuld have more avantage as we thought then the Frenshe Kyng, we agreed to ascertayn your Grace of this his mynde at their instaunt desire, and soo we departed and went to the Quenes chaumber.

Item, Monday the vjth. day of November, the Kyng departed aboute vij. of the clok in the mornyng to Parys, and the Quene departed aboute ix. of the clok, and dyned at a Village two myles oute of Parys; and at after none she made her entree into Parys aforsaid with greate solemnitie; but the company of noble men and other was soo greate, and she was soo often mette,

[a] Grenoble.

furst by the Provost of the Merchauntes with the garde of the Town bifore hym, second with the Provost of the Justice and the Counsell of the Town, third with the Chaumber of Accompts, fourth with the President of the Parliament, fifth with th'Universitie, and divers other which wer to longe to write, that it was vj. of clok at night or she came to the Palays, wher she did lye all night; and ther was a right greate bankette. Tuyseday, the next day, she dyned at the said Palays, and at after none came with greate triumphe to Turnelles where the Kyng is loged; also on Sonday next, by the grace of God, the Justes shall begynne. And thus Jhesus preserve your moost noble Grace. Writen at Parys, Tuyseday the vijth. day of November,

By your most humble subgiettes
and servantes,

CHARLYS SUFFOLK, T. DORSETT, C. WORCESTER,
T. DOCWRA,
NI. WEST.

To the Kynges Grace.

LETTER LXXIII.

Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk to Wolsey. The Queen of France crowned. Albany's intention to go to Scotland. The Justs finished.

[MS. COTTON. MUS. BRIT. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 156. *Orig.*]

MYNE owne good Lorde, I recommend me unto you; and so it is that I have receyved your Letter writen at Grenewiche on Alle Soulen daye, the ij^de^. day of Novembre, wherby I perceyve that the Kinges Grace was well contented with my writing. My Lord this Letter shall be to advertise you of alle suche thinges as I can know syns my last writing, the whiche was the iij^de^. daye of Novembre. My Lorde so it is, that on the Sonday after the writing of my last letter, the Quene was crowned right honorably; and at after noon we and the Frensh Kinges Counsaill went togeder, and determyned according as we wrote unto the Kinges Grace yn a lettre. My Lord syns the writing of that letter, the Duke of Albany came to my lodging, and saide that he was come to speke with me, and that it was the King his maisters mynde that he shulde breke with me of a mater; and I said that I wold be content to here what the King his maisters

pleasure was by hym, or by any other body; and so, apon that, he began, and saide that the Kinges mynde was that he shulde goo into Scotland, and that he trusted that his going shuld doo good, for he entended to reduse theym of Scotland to be contented to take such a Peas as shuld be for the King my maisters honour, and for the suertie of the children; and because that there shuld be no suspeción, he had maryed, and he wold leve his wife in Fraunce, and also he wold come by the King my maister, and wold retorne assone as he myght possible, for he must goo over the Mountayns; with many othre wordes. And so whanne I had herd hym alle that he wolde saye, I shewed unto hym that I had no commyssion to medill of suche maters; and thenne he said that the Frensh King wold speke with me in the mater; and I said that and his Grace did, I wold make his Grace suche an answere that his Grace shuld be content: and so, syns, I herd no more of the mater. How be it, my Lord Chamberlayne and Doctour West shewed me, that the Frenshe Kinges Counsaill had bien in hand with thaym upon the going of the said Duke; and, apon that, we and they toke a conclusion to advertise the King therof in all haste; and if so were that the Frenssh King wold be in hand with me, I shuld doo alle that is in me possible to let his going; and I ensure you I woll doo soo, for I promyse you he entendith not well as fer as I can perceyve. My Lorde as touching the othre busynes se-

crete, I wolle goo in hand therewith in all the haste I can; because I wolde come awaye, praying you that I have no more busynes to let me; for I ensure you I have many thinges to shew the King that I will not write.

My Lord it was soo, that three daies before my Lord Chamberlayn went, the Quene shewed to me and to my Lorde Marques divers thinges, the whiche we woll shew you at our comyng; wherby we perceyve that she had nede of some good friendes about the King; and so we called my Lord Chamberlayne, my Lord of Saint John's, and Doctor West, and shewed them parte of the mater; and we shewed unto them that we thought it best that we shuld sende for my Lord Longuevyle, the Busshop of Saint Paules, Robert Tete,[a] and the Generall of Normandy, and shewed unto theym that the Quene had sent for us and desired us that we wold send for theym, and desire theym on hir behalff and in the name of the King oure maister, that they wold be good and loving to hir; and that they wolde gyve hir counsaill frome tyme to tyme how she myght best order hir selff to content the King, wherof she was moost desirous; and in hir shuld lak no good wille; and bicause she knew well they were the men that the King loved and trusted, and knew best his mynde, therfore she was utterly determyned to love theym and trust theym, and

[a] Robertet.

to be ordred by thair Counsaill in all causes, for she knew well that thoes that the King loved must love hir best, and she theym: and so we did. And whenne we had shewed theym all this on the Quenes bihalff, they were very well contented, and said that they wold make reporté unto the King what honorable and lovyng request she had made, the whiche they said wold content hym very well. And they thankid hir Grace for hir good mynde toward thaym, and said that they wold doo in every thing hir request, and to accept and take hir as theire Soverain Quene, and to counsaill hir on every behalff to the best of thair powers to doo the thing that shuld pleas the King thaire maister. Of which maters they have promysed us to assure unto hir Grace whansoever it shal be hir pleasure; and within thies ij daies our entencion is to bryng theym unto the Quenes Grace according to our comunicacion and appoyntment. My Lord at the writing of this letter the Justes were doon, and blissed be God alle our Englissh men sped well, as I am sure ye shall here by othre. And thus I comyt you to the Holy Ghoost whoo ever preserve you. Frome Parise the xviij day of Novembre

by your assured

CHARLYS SUFFOLKE.

To my Lorde of Yorke.

THE JUSTS so emphatically alluded to at the close of this Letter, require a short comment.

Polydore Vergil insinuates that at the time when Henry the Eighth created Brandon Duke of Suffolk, he had the intention of making him his brother-in-law.

The French, when the Duke accompanied the Princess Mary to be Queen of France, shewed an extreme jealousy of him; and if some of our writers may be credited, they would have been very glad to have demolished both him and others; him particularly, as will be seen in the following passage from Hall; though "blessed be God" says the Duke, "all our English men sped well."

Having described the Entry into Paris, Hall tells us, "On the morrow began the Justs, and the Dauphin with his aydes entered the field; the apparel and bardes were cloth of gold, cloth of silver, and crimson velvet, kanteled together all in one suit. They shewed themselves before the King and Queen who were on a goodly stage, and the Queen stood so that all men might see her, and wondered at her beauty, and the King was feeble, and lay upon a couch for weakness. Then entered the counter-part by a rail, for cumbering the place. These Justs continued three days, in the which were answered three hundred and five men of arms, and every man ran five courses, and with sharp spears; *divers were slain, and not spoken of.* The English lords and knights did as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay, the Duke of Suffolk hurt a gentleman that he was like to die. The Marquis struck Mounsire Grew, an Albanoys, with his spear, and pierced his head-piece, and put him in jeopardy. The Duke of Suffolk, in the tourney, overthrew a man of arms, horse and man; and so dyd the lord Marquis another; and yet the Frenchmen would in no wise praise them. At this Tourney the Dauphin was hurt in the hand, so that he could not perform his chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his ayde in his room. The next day after began the Fight at the Barriers, and because the Dauphin was not present, the Duke of Suffolk and the Lord Marquis Dorset that day begun the field, and took the barriers with spears in hand, abiding all comers. The Dauphin brought a man secretly, which in all the Court of France was the tallest and the strongest man, and he was an Almayne, and put him in the place of an other person, to have had the Duke of Suffolk rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barrs fiercely, with his face hid, because he would not be known, and bare his spear to the Duke of Suffolk with all his strength, and the Duke him received, and for all his strength put him by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but-end of the spear strake the Almayne that he staggered; but for all that the Almayne strake strongly and hardly at the Duke, and the judges suffered many mo strokes to be foughten than

were appointed; but when they saw the Almayne reel and stagger, then they let fall the rail between them. The Lord Marquis Dorset, at the same time, even at the same barre, fought with a gentleman of France that he lost his spear, and in manner withdrew. When the rail was let fall, these two noblemen put up their vizors and took air. And then they took swords with point and edges abated, and came to the barriers, and the Almayne fought sore with the Duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the Duke by pure strength took him about the neck, and pomeled so about the head, that the blood issued out of his nose, and then they were departed; and the Almayne was conveyed by the Dauphin lest he should be known. Then two noblemen of England, that day, fought valiantly divers feats, and the Frenchmen likewise nobly them defended; but it happened the Lord Marquis one time to put, for his ayde, his youngest brother called the Lord Edward Grey of the age of nineteen years, and to him was put a gentleman of France of great stature and strength, to th' entent to pluck him over the barrs, but yet the young Lord was of such strength, power, and policy, that he so stroke his adversary that he disarmed him, all the face bare.

"Thus was these enterprises finished to the laud of all parties, and th' Englishmen received much honor, and no spot of rebuke, yet *they were privily set at*, and in many jeopardies." [a]

LETTER LXXIV.

Louis the XIIth of France to King Henry the Eighth, expressing his contentment.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 146. *Orig.*]

Mon bon Frere, Cousin, et Compere, a vous tres-affectueusement, et de si bon cueur que faire puis,

[a] Hall, Chron. edit. 1548. Hen. VIII, fol. xlix.

me recommande. J'ay par ce porteur votre Officier d'Armes reçeu les Lettres que m'avez escriptes du ixme de ce moys, et par icelles entendu le plaisir que vous avez eu d'entendre par mon Cousin le Duc de Suffort de mes nouvelles, et le contentement que j'ay de la Royne ma femme votre bon seur, laquelle s'est jusques icy conduycte et conduyt encores journellement envers moy de sorte que Je ne sauvoyr que grandement me louer et contenter d'elle; et de plus en plus l'aymer, honnorer, et tenir chiere, parquoy vous pouez estre seur que ma voulonte est et sera a jamaiz de continuer, et la traicter en toutes choses par façon quelle sen contentera et vous pareillement.

Et auregart du recueil et bonne chiere que mon dit Cousin de Suffort vous a dit, que je luy ay faicte et dont vous me merciez, il n'est nul besoing, mon bon Frere, Cousin, et Compere, de ce me faire merciz; Car je vous prie croyre que oultre ce que je sçay le lieu quil tient a lentour de vous, et lamour que luy portez, ses vertuz, meurs, ho nestete, et bonnes condicions meritoient quil feust honnore et recueilly trop mieulx quil na estre toutesfoiz pour honneur de vous, je luy ay fait la meilleur chiere que possible ma estre.

Au surplus en tant que touche les matieres secrectes desquelles icelluy mon Cousin de Suffort m'avoit parler, et sur lesquelles je luy avoye fait response telle quil vous a declaree par mes Ambassadeurs que j'ay depeschez et envoyez devers vous, vous en auez

peu entendre plus auant, vous priant tresaffectueusement apres les avoir ouyz y prendre resolucion et d'icelle m'advertir le plus tost que faire se pourra, pour selon cela me gouverner et conduyre, et cependent en ensuyvant ce que par vos dites lettres vous me mandez. Je tiendray les choses en suspens sans y prendre aucune conclusion, vous advisant que a bonne et mauvaise fortune je vueil vivre avecques vous, et non seullement entretenir la bonne amytie et allience qui est entre vous et moy faicte et juree comme sauez maiz icelle inviolablement garder et observer le plus tost l'augmenter et accroistre que la diminuer, esperant que vous ferez le semblable de votre part. Priant Dieu sur ce point mon bon Frere, Cousin, et Compere quil vous ayt en sa saincte gard. Escript a Paris le xxviij jour de Decembre.

Votre loyal Frere, Cousin, et bon
Compere

LOYS.

A mon bon Frere et Compere, le
Roy d'Angleterre.

LETTER LXXV.

Isabella of Arragon, Widow of Frederic King of Naples, to the Queen of France, imploring assistance for herself and her sons, Ferdinand and Alphonso.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 50. *Orig.*]

*** Although no superscription appears to this elegant Letter, there can be no doubt to whom it was addressed. The allusion in it to the affliction of her whose husband was styled *Christianissimus*, and who is earnestly solicited to recommend to her brother, either by Letter or when they met, the case of Isabella and her children, undoubtedly points at Mary Queen of France.

The resignation of the Crown of Naples by King Frederic in 1501, when Louis the Twelfth and Ferdinand of Arragon had united to divide his dominions between them, is an Event well known to History: as well as that Louis and Ferdinand, though they had concurred in making the conquest, differed about the partition of it.

Frederic retired to France, where he was allowed to reside in the dukedom of Anjou, upon a pension of thirty thousand ducats. He died at Tours, Nov. 9th 1504.

After his death, ISABELLA, who was his second wife, was ordered to quit France with her children. With the whole of her wanderings we are unacquainted: "Ego et filii mei—patria et Imperio dejecti—mendicantibus quamsimili, totam ferme Europam, tot annos, nullis certis sedibus peragramus infelices." She retired first to Sabioneta in Lombardy, to her sister Antonia, who was married to Francisco Gonzaga; and afterwards to Ferrara, whence the present Letter is dated, and where both she and her younger son Cæsar, who is not mentioned by name in this Letter, died. Isabella died in 1533.

HIS proxime decursis temporibus, notum factum est mihi quanta humanitate et clementia Alfonsum filium

meum Infantem de Aragonia fueris prosecuta; quod etsi regio more fieri consuevit, tamen pietati tuæ maxime qua felicissima domus tua semper claruit, merito illud ascripsi. Sperabamque cum conjugis tui Christianissimi favore ac natu, tum vero te nostra incommoda miserante, maximam calamitatum mearum partem, ac natorum meorum, quamprimum minui posse, ac molliri. Sed rerum humanarum volubilitate planè deceptus, miserandus homo continue afflictatur. Cujus rei Ego et filii veri testes esse possumus, qui patria et Imperio dejecti, miserabiliter, mendicantibus quam simillimi, totam ferme Europam, tot annos, nullis certis sedibus peragramus infelices. Jure igitur ipsius Regis obitum mœremus, tecumque deflere libet. Superest tamen ut memores simus conditionis humanæ, qua infirmius ac inconstantius nihil esse videtur; quamobrem ego, et ipsi filii mei, omni consolatione indigentes, rogamus te, etiam ac etiam, ut prudentiam tuam, regiamque fortitudinem, non oblita acerbitatem tanti casus quæ te decet sapientia mitiges, fortique animo feras. Et quoniam clare patuit ut prædictum est, erga filium meum clementia tua precamur te ut cum scribas ad serenissimum Regem fratrem tuum, aut si quando illum te convenire et alloqui contigerit, ei nos diligentissime velis commendare, præcipue ac seorsum Ferdinandum Aragonium primogenitum meum, qui ut scire te credimus innocenter in vinculis habetur, ipsumque Alfonsum solita

clementia foveas rogo. Vale Domina mea, nostri memor, quibus interdum etiam ad vitam necessaria utinam habere liceret. xi. calen. Aprilis. Ferraria. M°. D. xv.

E. M^tis. V. obsequentissima
Infelicissima YSABELLA
DE ARAGONIA.

LETTER LXXVI.

Thomas Lord Dacre and Dr. Magnus to King Henry VIIIth. upon Queen Margaret's delivery of a daughter. A. D. 1515.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 110. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter relates to the birth of Margaret afterwards Countess of Lenox, the mother of Henry Lord Darnley, and the grandmother both of James the First and Arabella Stuart.

There is something arrogant if not contemptuous in it. The writers thought it quite unnecessary to send a special messenger to the King to announce his sister's safety after her delivery: and though they mention the christening as taking place the next day after, they omit all notice of the name which had been given to the child. Margaret was out of favour at this time. They merely asked his Grace's Pleasure, that they might "motion and move her accordingly."

PLEAS it your mooste noble Grace to wete, that the thride daye nexte and ymmediatly after the date of our Letters laste sent unto your Highnes by pooste,

beyng the viijth daye after that the Quene of Scottes your suster came and entred into this your Realme, her Grace was delivered and brought in bedde of a fare younge Lady, and, with suche convenient provisions as couthe or mought be had in this baron and wyld countrey, was cristenned the next daye after; and every thing done accordingly as apperteigned to the honor of the same, the soden tyme, by Goddes provision so chaunsed, well considred. Gladde wold we have bene to have advertised your said Highnes of the Quenes said delyveraunce, but our causes here were so intriked with miche combre and busynes, as herafter ensewing it doth appere, that we couth not ascertane your Highnes of the same till this tyme, oonles we shuld have sent up a poste purposely for the Quene's said deliverance, whiche we thought was not gretely requisite but if there had bene furthre matier touching your causes to have bene sent up unto your Highnes.

* * * * * *

Forsomuche as the Quene is lyeng here is uneasfull and costelye, by occasion of farre cariage of every thing, we be mynded to move her Grace to remove to Morpeth, assone as convenyently she maye after her Grace have sought the Churche and be purified. It may like your Highnes to signifie your mynde and pleasur unto her said Grace how ye think ye woll have her

further to be ordored that we may mocion and move her accordingly.

Sir Christofer Garveis came to Morpeth immediatly upon the Quene is delyveraunce and by our advice hath contynued there with suche stuff as your Grace hath sent to the said Quene your suster, till Sondaye laste paste, whiche daye he delyvered your Letter, and disclosed your credence, gretely to the Quene's comforte. And for somiche as the Quene lieth as yet in childe bedde, and shall kepe her chambre these thre wookes at the leiste, we have advised the said Sir Christofer Garveis to remaigne at Morpeth till the Quene is comyng thidder.

And then her Grace may orden and prepare every parte of the said stuf after her pleasure, and as her Grace semeth moste convenient. And Almighty God have youe our mooste dradde Soveraigne Lorde in his mooste blessed preservacion. At Harebottell the xviijth day of October.

Your humble subjectes
and servantes
THOMAS DACRE.
T. MAGNUS.

Unto the Kinggs mooste
Noble Grace.

LETTER LXXVII.

Letters Patent of King Henry the Eighth for a charitable collection toward the relief of Prisoners in Barbary. A. D. 1515.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4619. ART. 93. PAT. 7. HEN. 8. P. 2. M. 23. PRO JOHANNE HOPTON.]

*** The Brief, as it is usually called, or Letters patent for a charitable collection, is of ancient standing in England: and, in earlier times, was a more efficient remedy for misfortunes than at present.

A remarkable Letter of this sort occurs in the Donation Manuscript in the Museum, 4614. fol. 106. as early as the reign of Edward the Fourth. It is a Licence to Sir Manuel Jagubin citizen of Constantinople, "of the housholde of the Emperour of Grekes, and of his Counsaill, that he for his redempcion and of his wife and children, which at the subversion of the said Citie were taken prisoners by the cruel Turke, may gadre within this our Realme the charities and almes of suche of our subjectes as to the same intent will departe with him of their goodes."

Other protections for gathering of alms, to persons who had suffered by fire, in the first of Richard the Third, occur in the Harleian Manuscript 433. foll. 148 b. 151.

The piratical States of Barbary arose only at the beginning of the sixteenth Century, so that it is probable that this Letter, as far as the redemption of slaves is concerned, is one of the earliest of its kind.

HENRY by the Grace of God Kyng of Englond and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelond, to all Archebisshoppes, Bisshoppes, Dukes, Marquesses, Erles, Barons, Knyghts, Squiers, and all other oure true and lovyng subjectes of this our Reame of Englond,

or others resiaunte within the same, good Cristen people, thies oure letters herying or seyng gretyng. Where our Ship lately called the Criste beyng freighted into Levant with wolles and other marchaundises, by oure trusty and welbeloved subjectes John Aleyn, Hugh Clopton, and Richard Fermour, of oure Citie of London marchauntes, was, in her saillyng beyonde the straites upon the costes of Barbary, encountred and sett upon by certeyn Foystes and Galeys of the Mores and Infideles, ennemies to Cristes feith, where, after long conflict bitwene them, and diverse slayne of bothe parties, by the great multitude of the same Infideles all the Christen men beyng in oure seid Ship, except the nombre of xxx^ti. persounes, were slayne and murdred; and the same our Ship, and Cristen Men in her, was taken and conveyed to a Citie called Touneges[a] in Barbarie, and there she and all the goodes in her confiscate; and the seid Cristen men put into great captevitie and thraldome remayning prysoners in irons, and havyng, as we be credibly infourmed for there sustentation but brede and water, and yet scante therof to susteygne there pore living, to the great hevynes and discomforte as well of them and their frendes as all other good true Cristen people. In consideration whereof, and for asmoche as we doo verailly thynk it were thyng moost meritorious to redeme the seid

[a] Tangier, anciently called Tinjis.

Cristen prysonners oute of th'ondes of the seid Infideles, we late you wete we have auctorised and gyven licence, and by thies presentes we auctorise and geve licence to oure trusty and welbeloved servaunte John Hopton, gentilman hiussher of oure Chambre, that he by hymself or his deputie or deputies, havyng thies oure lettres, or the verey copie of them made by a Notary under his signe, and subscribed by the said John Hopton, maye aske, geder, levie, and receyve of all maner personnes within this oure seid Reame, of what degree or condition soever they or any of theym be, all suche summes of money as they of their charities, good disposicions, and frewylls, woll geve towards the relief and redemyng of the seid Cristen men oute of the thraldome and captivitie of the seid miscreantes and infideles, at all tymes frome the daie of the makyng hereof duryng the space of thre Yeres then next and immediatly ensuying. Wherfor we woll and desire you, and natheless commaunde all you and every of you not onely permytte, and suffer the seid John Hopton, and his seid deputie or deputies, to use and enyoie the hole effecte of this oure auctorite and licence, but also that in execution of the same ye be to hym and them favoryng, aydyng, and assistyng, and puttyng therunto youre good and charitable helpyng handes, whereby we doute not ye shall not onely do thyng moche to the pleasure of God, and thencreace of youre merittes, but by the

same ye shall ministre unto us right acceptable and thankfull pleasure. In witnesse whereof, &c.

Yeven under oure Great Seale at Otford the xiiij. die Augusti.

Per ipsum Regem et de dat. &c.

LETTER LXXVIII.

William the IVth, Duke of Bavaria, to King Henry the Eighth, recommending Wolfgang Richart, who had perfected an "Opus Musicale."

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 99. *Orig.*]

*** Sir John Hawkins in his History of Musick, vol. ii. p. 533, says it is somewhat remarkable that Mosley in his Introduction to Harmony has taken no notice of our Henry VIIIth. as a composer of Music. Erasmus relates that he composed offices for the Church; Bishop Burnet has vouched his authority for asserting the same; and there is an anthem of his for four Voices, 'O Lord the maker of all things,' in the Books of the royal Chapel, and in the Collection of Services and Anthems published by Dr. Boyce, which every judge of Music must allow to be excellent.[a] It is true that in a Collection of Church Musick, intitled 'The first Book of selected Church Musick, collected by John Barnard, one of the minor canons of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul,' and published in the year 1641, this Anthem is given to William Mundy, but the late Dr. Aldrich, after taking great pains to ascertain the author of it, pronounced it to be a genuine composition of King Henry VIIIth. The fact is, and there is additional evidence of it existing, not only that Henry understood Musick, but that he was deeply skilled in the art of practical composition; for in a collection of Anthems, Motets, and other

[a] It is also in Dr. Tudway's Manuscript Collection, marked H. R.

church offices, in the hand writing of one John Baldwin of the choir of Windsor, a very good composer himself, which appears to have been completed in the year 1591, is a Composition for three voices, with these words, 'Henricus Octavus,' at the beginning; and then 'Quod[a] Henricus Octavus,' at the end of the Cantus or upper part: 'Quam pulchra es et quam decora'."

The Harleian MS. 1419, A. fol. 200, contains the List of Henry the Eighth's Musical Instruments remaining at Westminster, "in the chardge of Philipp van Wilder," in an Inventory of Goods taken at the different Palaces immediately after the Kings death.

They consisted of Five Pair of "Double Regalles,"[b] two of them bearing the King's Arms and Queen Jane's: thirteen pair of "Single Regalles;" numerous pairs of "Virginalles" both single and double;[c] two pair of "Claricordes;"[d] nineteen "Vialles" great and small;[e] "Item, four Gitterons[f] with four Cases to them, they are caulled Spanishe Vialles;" two Gitteron pipes of ivory tipped with silver; "Item, xiiij. Gitteronne pipes of woodde, in a bagge of leather, they are called Cornettes;[g] a Gitteron and a Lute in a case together; Flutes innumerable, some of Ivory tipped with gold and enameled black; a Case with ten flutes in it called Pilgrim staves; Crumhornes;[h] Recorders, great and

[a] *i. e.* Quoth.

[b] REGALLES—*Regal*, a small portable organ, with one row of pipes. A double Regal was also portable, but had two rows of pipes. Mersennus *(Harmonie Universelle)* says in one place, that the stop *vox humana* took the name of Regal: in another he describes the *Harmonica*, and calls it a Regal. There can be no doubt, however, that the above is the correct definition. There is even yet a "Tuner of the Regals" in the Royal Household, whose business it is to tune the organs in all the Chapels Royal.

[c] VIRGINALLES. The *Virginal* was that which afterwards took the name of Spinnet, and differed from it only in shape. The Spinnet was triangular; the Virginal oblong, like our small piano-fortes.

[d] CLARICORDES. The *Clarichord* is described by Kircher, in his *Musurgia Universalis*, as a Virginal. Luscinius throws something like strips of cloth over the strings, to damp their sounds, and render the instrument more fit for the use of a tranquil Convent. That the Virginal and Clarichord were similar to Spinnets—or, in fact, to small harpsichords—appears from the description given of them by Luscinius, (*Musurgia, seu Praxis, Musicæ*, 1536, p. 9.) "Omnia hæc instrumenta habent plectra (sic enim illa vocant) chordas diversis in locis contrectantia:" &c.

[e] VIALLES—*Viols*, comprehending under this term both large and small. *A Chest of Viols* was a set of instruments, comprising a treble, tenor, and base Viol: or what we now denominate, a Violin, Viola, and Violoncello.

[f] GITTERON. *Cittern*, or *Gwitar*; not of the Spanish kind, but such as was in use in England about 30 years ago. The Gitteron Pipes which are mentioned, are believed to have been pipes or flutes by which the Guitar was accompanied.

[g] CORNETTES. *Cornet*, a bent pipe, yielding a harsh, powerful sound. There were treble, tenor, and base Cornets: the latter Mersennus exhibits in the exact form of our modern Serpent.

[h] CRUMHORN. This was a treble Cornet: *krum* signifies, in German, *bent*.

small, some of Ivory, and some of walnut tree;[a] one great base Recorder of wood; a pipe for a taberde; nine Shalmes;[b] a Bagge pipe with pipes of Ivory, the bag covered with purple velvet; two fair pair of new long Virginals made harp-fashion[c] of Cipres, with keys of ivory, having the Kings arms crowned, and supported by his Grace's beastes within a garter gilt, standing over the keys;" a Flute and "two Phiphes[d] of blacke Ibonie;" other flutes of glass; various "short Instruments called Dulceners;"[e] and a little Venice flute;[f] with "sondrie Bookes and Skrolles of Songes and Ballattes."

Two of King Henry the Eighth's own Music-Books, ornamented in the superbest manner of his time, are still preserved among the Royal Manuscripts in the Museum. One, MS. Reg. 8 G. VII, on the first page, has the Badges of the King and Katherine of Arragon richly illuminated beneath the Royal Arms. The other, marked 2 E. XI, was written in 1516. This also has the Royal Badges, with the MARGUERITE or *daisy* and the MARY*gold*, in honor of his sisters.

Music was an accomplishment by which Henry the Eighth's courtiers recommended themselves. Polydore Vergil says of Richard Pace "*musicus* et facetus incredibiliter animum Regis delectabat." Wolsey saw the fascination, and despatched Pace upon a foreign Embassy.[g]

Henry the Eighth's children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, all played upon the Lute and Virginals.

[a] RECORDERS. The *Recorder* was a small English Flute, or *Flute à bec*, and answers precisely to our *Flageolet*. The *Base Recorder* was, according to Kircher, analogous to our bassoon.

[b] SHALMES. The *Shawm* was the base Cornet.

[c] VIRGINAL, HARP-FASHION. This was an upright instrument. Mersennus gives the figure of one, which Sir John Hawkins calls an upright Harpsichord. But the former copied nearly the *Clavicimbalum* of Luscinius, which is only a Spinnet, or Virginal, having the strings placed vertically.

[d] PHIPHES. Fifes.

[e] DULCENERS. *Dulcimers*. Luscinius gives a cut of one, which he names the *Hackbret*. It is an instrument still to be seen in toy-shops, consisting of a few strings stretched over an oblong box, and struck by two sticks. It must have been of considerable dimensions in the time of Luscinius; for he says "ignobile est," on account of the loudness of its sound.

[f] The *Venice Flute* is an Instrument which seems to be unknown to all the writers on Music.

For the explanations here given of the different kinds of Musical Instruments formerly in use, the Editor has been indebted to the kindness of William Ayrton, Esq.

[g] "Pacæus enim vir bonæ frugi, in senatu regio recte consulebat, item optime moratus, literatus, *musicus* et facetus, incredibiliter regis animum delectabat, à quo in rebus etiam gravioribus lubenter audiebatur. Atqui quanto Principi charior fiebat, tanto ei inimicior erat Volsæus, qui apud regem primus omnino ferre volebat, atque idcirco hominem specie ejusmodi obeundarum legationum, longissime ab Henrico, a domo, a patria abfuturum enixa curabat." Polyd. Verg. Angl. lib. xxvii. p. 65. edit. Lug. Bat. 1651.

Illustrissime Rex, domine et affinis plurimum observande, salutem et felicitatem maximam, sese quoque deditissimum &c. Volfgangus Richart qui olim illustri Principi et domino Domino Alberto Palatino Reni superioris et inferioris, Bavariæ Duci, genitori nostro charissimus fuit, et a nobis non minus diligitur, cujus opera cum in aliis tum potissimum in rebus bellicis usi fidem singularem ac præcipuam disciplinæ militaris peritiam facile perspeximus, Is cum Opus Musicale quoddam artis suæ regiis oculis visendum exhibuisset, quam humaniter exceptus, quam liberaliter ac magnifice tractatus fuerit, nobis exposuit. Præterea significavit se perquam benigno sermone ac honestis conditionibus invitatum fuisse, ut vestræ illustrissimæ dominationi suam locaret operam, neque ei tum per voluntatem sed facultatem defuisse, quod quædam opera imperfecta et inelaborata habuisset, quæ sibi, antequam in Angliam proficisceretur, illustris Princeps Christoferus Marchio Badensis, excolenda locavisset, et ad ea perficienda a vestra regia dominatione discessisse; nunc autem perfectis operibus omnino decrevisse suum ad vestrarum Illustr. dominationum maturare reditum. Sed cum is, ut supra diximus, nobis plurimum dilectus, tum propter singularem ejus modestiam atque observantiam, tum quod fortis ac manu promptus existit in re militari, qui etiam delectum militum facere, exercitum ducere, et aciem more nostro instruere optime teneat, dignum existimavimus,

egregiis et singularibus virtutibus præditum, vestræ Celsitudini commendare; eum igitur vestræ illustr. dominationi plurimum commendamus ea commendatione quæ potest esse diligentissima. Quicquid enim vestra Regia dominatio beneficii in eum contulerit, id erit nobis gratissimum: nec diffidimus pro omni obsequendi genere totis viribus se diligentissimum obsequiosissimumque præstiturum. Etsi nobis nulla unquam commentatio cum illust. dominatione vestra fuerit, attamen humanitatem, mansuetudinemque vestrarum, tum ex Oratore vestro tum etiam ab omnibus audivimus prædicari quare, eidem V. illust. Dn. nos plurimum commendamus. Quæ nostra Opera, pro arbitrio uti potest, sicuti forte ex Oratore cui mentem et animum nostrum declaravimus, explorata habuistis. Valeat vestra Regia Excellentia. Dat. in oppido nostro Monacen. pridie Idus Januarii, Anno Christianissimi partus 1516.

Dei gratia Wilhelmus Palatinus Reni
superioris et inferioris, Bavariæ Dux, &c

VILHELMUS DUX BAVARIÆ &c.

per manum propriam.

Illustrissimo Principi Domino
Henrico Franciæ, Angliæque
Regi, inclito Domino et affini nostro
plurimum observando.

LETTER LXXIX.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Lord Dacre in answer to the charge that she had written to the French King for the return of the Duke of Albany; acknowledging it and pleading her necessities. A. D. 1520.

[MS. COTTON. CALIGULA B. II. fol. 195. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN QUEEN MARGARET'S HAND.]

My lorde Dakare, I commend me hartly to you, and vit ze that I hafe resayved your vrytenn fre Jon Sympson your sarwand and onderstandyte it at length; and vhare ze remember me in your vrytenn of my labor and dessyre made on to the Kynges Grace my brothar, and to my lorde Cardynall, and thyr Cownsal, apon sundery consideraciones to them declared, and specyaly for the well and surtie of the Kyng my Son, and for the recoveryng of my autorite of thys Realme and Tutrixship of the Kyng my Soon, according to the testment of the Kyng my housband; and that the Duc of Albany than being in to Scotland shuld be removed in to Fraunce again, and not retourne in to Scotland; My lorde all that I dyd thayr I thout for the beste, as the Kynges Grace my brothar and hys Cownsel knawes; for I trastyd that the Lordys of thys rawlme

and I shuld hafe agryed vell, and I to hafe broukyt pessably my nawn as thay are bownd to doo be thayr vrytenes and sellyes;[a] and than thay myght not have no cause to excusse them to the dwke. Howbeit I am not the betterar, for I vasse never se ewel awnsuard nor obayd of my landyes as I am sen my last comyng in to Scotland, as I hafe ofton tymes vryten both to the Kyng my brothar, and to my lorde Cardynall, and You. Howbeit I gat ne remedy, and I dyd schaw you, my Lorde, in my vrytengs, that I dyd vryt to you vylke ze haffe,[b] that and I gat not shortly helpe that I most doo what the Dwke and the Lordys of thys rawlme vhol hafe me to doo; for I have nen here that vyl helpe me of my complaynt, nor doo me justys; so that I may not lyf to my honowr; and my lyfeng is here, I man cast me to plesse thys raulme; allsvay, my Lorde, whare ze vryt to me to knaw gyfe I have send ony vryteng to the Kyng of France for the furdryng of the Dwke of Albany's comyng in to Scotland, my Lorde thayr whas a letar vryten in to Frence to the Kyng of France from me be the specyal dessyr of the Dwke and the Lordys, vysche I myght not deny; for thay sayd it vas for the veel of the Kyng my Soon and his Rawlme; my Lorde I pray you remembyr that and ze var in a nothar Rawlme vhare ze schuld lyf your lyfe, ze vould doo that ze myght to ples them soo that thay schuld not have eny mystrust of

[a] writings and seals. [b] which you have.

you; and soo most I, for and I schuld refws to have vryten vhan I vas desyrd, the Dwke and the Lordys vhold haf thowt that I had stopyd hys comyng, and thayr throw I myght get ewel; and thus I trust my lord that the Kyngs Grace my brothar, and my lorde Cardynal, vyl remember as I stand in thys rawlme. And in laste vryteng that I hat from the Kyng my brother he commandyd that I schuld doo no thyng that the Lordys myght have ony ocassyon to complayne of me, vysche I trust I hafe don. My Lord I pray you to remembyr that I dyd vryt to you, I vas at syche a pownt that I most a layd my jwellys for fawt of mony, for I am not awnsuerd of no part of my lifeng; and had not bene the Cowntrowlar Robart Barton I had bene schamyd or now, for I haf not to fynd the expenssys of my hous, and I am as sobar as can be. And sopos it be ewel to me, it is dyshonor to the Kyngs Grace my brothar as veel as me. Bot the onkyndnes that I fynde doth me more ewel nor ony thyng in the varld, for I see vell what pownt that ever it stand me on, I vyl get no helpe bot fayre vourdys. My lord ze most pardon me that I vryt so scharpe, for it towchys me nere: and God kype you. At Edynbrowh the fowentyn day of Jwly

your frend

MARGARET R.

To my lord Dakre.

LETTER LXXX.

Lord Thomas Dacre to Queen Margaret; a Letter of reproof; sent to her by the Laird of Barrow. A. D. 1521.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 229. b.]

*** The boldness of Lord Thomas Dacre in the Affairs of Scotland has been mentioned in the former Series of these Letters. The reader is now to see him in the character of a man charging his Sovereign's sister with misconduct toward her husband; and reminding her "what dishonorable bruits were spoken of Her Grace in Scotland."

MADAME, in most lauly wise I recommende me unto your Grace. And where as by my writing sent unto youe by my servant William Hathrington, I advertised your Grace of the King my Soverain, your broders, high pleasure, th'effecte wherof was that his Highnes is righte sory that your Grace is not aunswered of your dueties according as it is paste in contracte betwixt his Highnes and the King your Son and his Counseill, not doubting (if ye lose not your owne matier youre self) but ye shalbe by meanes of his Grace recompensed of your hool dueties with th'arreragies. Wherunto your Grace made none aunswere but only by worde of mouthe, which was right displeasaunt to his said Highnes. Wherefore at this tyme I sende unto your

Grace my servaunt the lard of Barrow this berer, whome I know ye truste, and is an old servaunt of yours, whom I have ordeigned to declare unto your Grace certein credence, beseching your Grace to geve unto hym favorable audience, and as ferm credence as ye wold do unto my self. For, upon my conscience, I wold be as glad to do unto your Grace pleasure and service as any subject that my said Soverain your broder hath within this his reame, as knoweth the holy Trinite &c. At Harbottell the vjth daye of Marche.

Instructions yeven by Thomas lord of Dacre to his trusty and welbiloved servaunt the lard of Berrow for his remembraunce, to be shewed and declared unto the Quenes Grace of Scotland. At Harbotell the vjth day of Marche.

Furste ye shall shew unto her Grace, that inasmoche as it is appointed and agreed that certein grete personnages shall cum up in ambassade from the Kinges Grace her son, autorizate by consente of the thre estates of his Realme, to comune, treate, and conclude of good peax, or of further prorogation of the treux, it is thought good by the Kinges Highnes my Soverain, her broder, that her Grace shew and declare in what things as she is greved, as well of her disobeysaunce as of the arreragies of conjunctefee to that

purpose, or any conclusion be had of the peax, that her Grace may be provided fore and aunswered according to suche promisse and contracte as were made unto her Grace (at her laste entre into Scotland) betwixt the king my said Soverain and the King her son under his great Seal, by consent of the Duc of Albany and of the thre estates of his realme of Scotland.

Item ye shall shewe unto her Grace that the said Duc of Albany holdes her with fare wordes under color; and by dissimulation causeth her Grace to be aunswered of a parte of her dueties, to that purpose that she shuld not lay it unto his charge that her Grace is not answered of her said dueties, forbicause that his hand (as tutor) is set to the Book of Contracte of her laste entre into Scotlande, made under the grete Seal, that her Grace shuld be obeyd and aunswered of her conjunctefee, and restored to all her bagges, jewelles, and moveable goodes to her Grace apperteignynge.

Item ye shall shew unto her Grace, that it is thought that the said Duc of Albany, under color, holdethe her with fare wordes and promisses, wherby that her Grace shuld not be provided fore in this new Peax if it fortune to be taken, and what perill and jeopardie it is to her if her Grace shuld not be provided fore in this said Peax, I refer that to her discretion. And also the said Duc chalengethe the iiijth parte of

her conjunctefee to be his enheritaunce, that is to say th'Erldome of Marche, and is reabled[a] to the same by acte of parliament, wherof his fader was atteynted; which may be well knowne unto her Grace if she woll not be blynded.

Item ye shall shew unto her Grace that it is thought marvellous that she shuld bere so grete favor unto the Duc of Albany seing her Grace is requeste made unto the king my Soveraigne lord, and labour made to my lord Cardinalles Grace to move his Highnes, that the said Duc shuld not cum into Scotland, aswell for the suretie of the king her sonne as of herself; seing the subdein departure of the prince her son, and that incontinently after the said Duc proclaymed hymselfe Prince of Scotland; and that also the said Dukes fader tooke upon hym and usurped to be king ageinst his elder broder, being King, and in the tyme of his usurping made diverse knightes.

Item ye shall shew unto her Grace, that I doubt not but it is in her remembraunce that the King her husband (whose soule god pardon) in his tyme wold never take the said Duc as Duc of Albany, forbicause of the pretense that his fader made to the Crowne of Scotland.

Item ye shall shew unto her Grace that it is cumyn to the knowlege of the King my said Soverain, that her Grace is departed from my Lord of Angus her

[a] re-abled.

husband, contrary to all good order and th'aggreament made betwixt her and my said lord by the good and vertuous fader ffrer Henry Chadworth; and also the comune brute rynnethe that her Grace departed from Edinbrugh by night, and there was met without the Towne by Sir James Hamylton being dedely enmy to my said lord of Angus and by hym conveyd to Lithgow.

Item ye shall shew unto her Grace, that it standeth not with her honor to leve her husband by counseill of any man, and as it is thought by counseill of the said Duc of Albany, geveing her Grace faire wordes and promisses, under color wherof her Grace woll be deceived at liength, which peraventure woll shortely appeare, and then it woll be hard to be amended.

Item ye shall say unto her Grace to call unto her remembraunce how the King my late Soverain Lord her fader of noble memory (whose soule god pardon), maried her Grace into Scotland for that purpose to have a perpetuall Peas, and that the issue of her bodie shuld be King of that realme, wherby and bireason of the nerenes and proximitie of blood betwixt my said Soverain that now is, and her said issue, a perpetuall peax shuld grow: and now to leane to that counseill that by all liklihode is not good and prouffitable for the continewance of the same, what hurte and reproche shall cum of therof I refer to the wisdome and discretion of her Grace.

Item ye shall shew unto her Grace, the keping that the King her son is in is right susspectious, seing that her Grace cannot cum at hym but with a few persons with her: and that his person alonly is in the keping of the said Duc, except that every quarter ones there cometh a Lord to have the name therof: and aswell his Scholemaister, as all other persons that ar officers about hym, ar of the said dukes appointeing, and not of the Lord is that is above [a] hym which attendeth his quarter.

Item ye shall say unto her Grace, to call unto her remembraunce of wherof she is cumyn, and of what Howse, and that there is few Scotts men that woll yeve unto her fruitefull counseill, but onely for their singulare weal and pruffit; wherfore, good it were to take summe regarde to suche as be naturally borne to geve her Grace good counseill, and to lye all dissimulation aparte, and to remembre what dishonorable brutes ar spoken of her Grace in Scotland, in the leving of her said husband and folowing the advise of suche as finally may, and of liklihode shalbe her destruction, *bothe in fame and otherwise*, which cannot stonde with the pleasure of God nor with the King my said Soverain's honor.

Item, finally ye shall shew unto her Grace that in thus ordering herself in the premisses, neither regarding her owne honor, the suretie of the King her son,

[a] *i. e.* over.

ne yet of her said husband or of her self, her Grace may not loke for any favor at the King my said Soveraines hand; for it is thought she is sore abused under color of fare promises whiche be but illusions; and finally shall bring her Grace in the displeasure of God to her dishonor and undoing at liength.

THERE are other Papers in the Scottish Correspondence, which speak in terms still plainer of Margaret's infidelity.

In the Instructions and Commission for my lord of Dunkeld to be shown to the King's Grace of England on behalf of the Earl of Angus his kin and friends, (MS. Cotton. Calig. B. vi. fol. 204 b.) we find

"Alsua we think and knowis by Experience that the Quene by evill and senistre counseill is mekill inclinet to the pleasure of the Duke in al maner of thingis; and ar never sundrie, but every day to gidre owther forrowe nowe[a] or aftre, and, as it is supposed, he is indendit a divorse betwix the Erle of Angus and the Quene."

In the opinion upon these instructions, "*under the correction of the King's Highness*" given by LORD DACRE and *signed by him*, he says,

"As unto the fourth article, it is of trough as I am credeably enformed by myn Espials which I have ther. And moreover the said Quene has caused laubor be made by diverse persons to th'Erle of Angus to be content with a divorce; and he shall have for his good will therunto the forest of Etrik, parcel of the Comuntt fee, which is to the value of xij C. marcs Scotts by yere. And I, heryng herof, has shewed to the said Erle such persuasions that I have him bodely sworn upon the holy Evangelists that he shall never consent thereunto without my advise.

"As unto the fifth article, it is trough as it is allegied by the said Lords, as I know by myn Espiall: and over that ther is merveillous grete Intelligence betwene her and the Duke aswele all the day as miche of the night. And in maner they sett not by who knowe it. *And if I durst say it for fere of displeasure of my Soverain*, THEY AR OVER TENDRE; wherof if your Grace examyn the busshop of Dunkeld of his consciens, I trust it will shew the troughe."

[a] before noon.

LETTER LXXXI.

Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey, concerning a new Book of Martin Luther, and the King's zeal against Luther.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. IV. fol. 96. *Orig.*]

PLEAS itt your Grace at myne arivall to the Kynge this mornynge, I founde hym lokynge uppon a boke of Luthers, and hys Grace schewde unto me that it was a newe werke off the sayde Luthers. I lokydde uppon the title theroff and perceived bi the same that itt is the same Boke put into prynte, whyche your Grace sende unto hym by me wretyn. And upon suche disprayse as Hys Grace dydde yeve unto the sayde boke I delivrydde the Popis Bulle and hys Bryffe broght in my charge opportune, and with the whyche the Kynge was well contentidde: here at lenght schewynge unto me that it was verraye joyose to have thys tydyngis from the Popis Holynesse at suche tyme as he had takyn uppon hym the defynce off Christis Churche wyth his penne, affore the recepte of the sayde tydyngis; and that he wull make an ende off hys boke wythin thiese . . . . . and desyrynge your Grace to provide that wythinne the

same space all suche as be appoyntide to examine Luthers boks maye be congregated to gedre ffor hys Hynesse percevynge: and bi suche thyngis and I declarydde unto hym be the Popis bryffe that thys matier requirithe hasty expedicion, wull take the more payne for to make an ende therin the soner, and is condescendydde and agreable to every thynge desyrydde by your Grace; that is to saye to wryte hys lettres to th'Emperor and the Princes Electors, and to sende also suche a person with the same as schalbe seen most meate for that purpose; and to sende hys Boke not oonly to Rome, but also into Fraunce and othre nacions as schall appere convenient. So that all the Churche is more bounde to thys goodde and vertuxe Prince for the vehement zele he berith unto the same, than I can expresse.

As touchinge the sayde Bryffe hys Grace is singularely well contentidde therwyth, and rede itt every worde at hys secunde masse tyme, and aftre dyner schewede the same unto my Lordes off Canturburye and Duresme wyth greate prayse and laude theroff. As to the sayde Bulle hys Grace schewede hym selfe verraye well contentidde wyth the cummynge off the same; howebeitt as touchynge the publication theroff he sayde he wolde have itt well examinydde and diligently lokyd to a ffore itt were publyschydde. Hereunto I answered sayynge that your Grace, my lorde off Canturburie, my lorde off Duresme, wyth

othres by your Grace appoyntidde, schulde accomplysche hys mynde therin, and that your Grace wold nott publyshe the same unto suche tyme that ye hadde made hys Highnesse priveye therunto. My lorde of Duresme wolde have cummyn unto your Grace, but the Kynge wolde not suffer hym so to doo, but commaundydde hym to tarry here for th'examinacion off certayne things off Bukkynghams servantes. My sayde Lorde sendith unto your Grace a Lettre wretyn bi the Kynges commaundment to suche as schall see to the . . . . [a] of the sayde Duks house durynge hys a . . . . . [b]

And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in longe and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Grenwiche thys xvj off Aprile by your Graces most humble faythfull servant.

Syr Richarde Weston signifieth unto your Grace that the Kynge doith well approve suche things as you communydde wyth hym thys mornynge.

[a] charge?

[b] ſ absence.

LETTER LXXXII.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the Affairs of Scotland.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VII. fol. 67. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that I have presented and redde un to the King's Grace your honorable Lettres directed un to myselfe and written the xvijth day of September, wherby his Highness very greatly rejoyced the valiaunt acquytaill and prosperouse successe of th'erlis of Anguish and Arren against theire enemyes and the disturbours of the peace and quiet of Scotland, dayly devising such entreprises es shold if they mought have obtayned theire entent and purpose have extended in conclusion to the great parell and jubardy[a] of the young Prince his Nephieu, not without sum busignes and inquietenes also to this Realme. Wherfore his Highnes mych approveth your Grace's moost prudent device concernyng the said erlis, to be entreteyned with sum good advise and counsaile to be geven un to theym for such good, vertuouse, and politique order to be taken and used by theym for the good bringing uppe

[a] jeopardy.

of the yonge King to the weale and suertie of his noble persone and commodite of his Realme, that he and his realme may herafter be glad and dayly more and more delite and rejoice in theire late good chaunce and victorie agaynst theym that late were assembled agaynst their King present in the feld. And the King's Highnes thinketh that sith the said Erlis have now sufficient open profe that the archbishop of Saint Andrewis putteth all his possible power to procure their destruction, and to rere broilerie, warre, and revolution in the Realme to the no little perell of the yong King theire maister, it were good that they were advised in this their victorie so substantially to provide for the saufgard of their King and themselfs, by th'effectuall repressing of theire adversaries, that the said Archebisshoppe and his adherents in eny tyme to cum shold not be able either by craftie practises to deceive theym, or open rebellion to distresse theym; but without eny trust or credence to be geven to the blandishing of the said Archbishoppe which this adverse chaunce shall peradventure dreve hym to use for the while, with purpose and entent of revenging whan he may fynde occasion, they provide and se so substantiall ordre taken for the surtie of the King, the Realme, and theymself, that none evil wede have power to spring uppe to high. And thus mych the King's Highnes hath commaunded me to wright un to your good Grace concernyng this mater, geving to your

Grace his moost affectuouse thanks for your diligent advertisement of those good tidings, with your labor taken in the Lettre by your Grace devised in his name to the Chauncellor of Poile. His Highnes also thinketh that it were neither honorable to his Grace nor to the French King that th'Emperors embassiators shold be detaigned in Fraunce: and it semeth to me that the Kings Grace somwhat dowteth whither he be there deteigned agaynst his will or not: but his Grace greatly alloweth, and thanketh Yours in the solliciting of his enlarging. I remitt unto your Grace the Lettres of M^r^. Magnus and Sir Christofer Dacre; and shall in lyke wise send un to your Grace the Lettre to the Chauncellor of Poile as sone as the Kings Grace shall have signed it. As knoweth our Lord, whose goodnes long preserve your good Grace in prosperouse helth and honor. At Stony Stratford the xxj. day of Septembre.

Your Grace's humble Orator and
moost bounden bedeman
THOMAS MORE.

LETTER LXXXIII.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, chiefly detailing the transaction of business with the King.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA. B. VI. fol. 210. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that yesterday in the mornyng I received from your Grace your honorable Lettres wrytten un to myselfe dated the xixth day of this present moneth, and with the same as the lettres of congratulation, with the minute of a Lettre to be wrytten with the Kings owne hand to th'Emperor, and th'instructions to the Kings Ambassador there, as also those Lettres which your Grace received from Maister Secretary, with the Lettres by your Grace also devised for the expedition of the Gentlemen of Spruce:[a] which things with diligence I presented furthwith unto the Kings Grace the same mornyng, and to th'entent that his Grace shold the more perfaitely perceive what weighty things they were that your Grace had at that tyme sent un to hym, and what diligence was requisite in th'expedicion of the same, I redde unto his Grace the Lettres which it lyked your Grace to wryte to me. In which

[a] Prussia.

it mych lyked his Grace that your Grace so well alowed and approved his opinion concernyng th'overtures made by the French King un to th'Emperor. After your Grace's said Lettre redde, when he saw of your Grace's own hand that I shold diligently sollicite th'expedicion of those other things, for as mych as your Grace entended and gladly wold dispatch the premisses this present Soneday, his Grace lawghed, and saied "Nay by my fayth that will not be, for this is my removing day sone at New Hall. I will rede the remanaunt at Night." Wheruppon after that his Grace was cummen home hither and had dyned, beyng vj. of the clokke in the nyght, I offred myselfe agayn to his Grace in his owne chambre, at which tyme he was content to signe the Lettres to th'Emperor, and th'other Lettres for th'expedicion of the gentilmen of Spreuce, putting over all the remanaunt . . . . day in the mornyng. Wheruppon at my parting from his Grace yisternyght I received from your Grace a Lettre addressed unto him, with which I furthwith retorned unto his Grace in the Queny's chambre, where his Grace redde openly my lord Admiralls Lettre to the Queny's Grace, which marvelously rejoiced in the good newis, and specially in that that the French Kyng shold be now toward a tutor, and his realme to have a governor: in the communication wherof, which lasted abowt one howre, the Kings Grace saied that he trusted in God to be theyre

governor hym selfe, and that they shold by thys meanys make a way for hym as King Richard did for his father. I pray God if hit be good for his Grace, and for this realme, that than it may preve so, and ellis, in the stede therof I pray God send his Grace one honorable and profitable peace.

This day in the mornyng I redde unto his Grace as well th'instructions moost politiquely and moste prudently devised by your Grace and therto moost eloquently expressed, as all the lettres of M^r^. Secretary sent unto your Grace; to whom as well for your spedy advertisement in the tone, as for your great labor and payn taken in the tother his Grace geveth his moost hartie thanks. In the reding of th'instruction among th'incommoditees that your Grace there most prudently remembreth, if th'Emperor shold leve the stat of Myllayn up to the French King, the King's Grace saied that th'Emperor shold bysidis all those incommoditees sustayn a nother great dammage, that is to witt the losse of all his frendis and favorers in Italy without recovery for ever, which shold be fayn to fall hooly to the French Kyng; uttrely dispayring that ever th'Emperor leving the Duchie when he had it, wold after labor therefore whan he had lefte hit. Which consideration his Grace wold have planted in to th'instructions with his awne hand, saving that he saied your Grace could, and so he requyreth you to do, bettre furnish hit, and sett hit

forth. As towching Mr. Secretary's lettres his Grace thinketh as your Grace moost prudently wryteth, that they do but seke delayes till they may se how the world is: wherein he mych alloweth your most prudent opinion that they shold be with good rownd wordis to theire embassador, and other quykke wayes, prykked forth. And for as mych as your Grace toucheth an ordre that no Venicians shold be suffred to shipp eny of theyr goods owt of the realme, and that it is now schewed un to his Grace that one Deodo a Venician is abowt to shipp gods, pretendyng hymselfe to be denison; which his pretence, whither it be trew or not his Grace knoweth not; and also thinketh that he shall under the colour of his owne send owt of the realme the goods of others his cuntremen; for which causis his Grace requyreth yours to have a respect therto and cause hit to be ordered as to your Graces wisedom shall seme expedient. For as mych as the Kings Grace hath not yit written of his awne hand the minute to th'Emperor which I delivered his Grace in thys mornyng, therfore I suppose that this lettre wrytten this present Soneday the xxj. day of Septembre in the nyght can not be delivered to the Post till to morow abowt . . . . . As knoweth our Lord who long preserve your Grace in honor and helth.

Your humble orator and moste bounden
beedman

THOMAS MORE.

To my Lord Legats good Grace.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Margaret Archduchess of Savoy to Dr. Knight, the English Ambassador at her Court, announcing the news of the Victory of Pavia.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA. B. VIII. fol. 107. *Orig.*]

*** The Victory of Pavia was the subject of two Letters in the former Series of this Work. But the Editor feels that he did not entirely dispose of his subject; an event so very memorable has something of a claim upon the reader's recurrence.

Dr. Augustin who had been Wolsey's, and was afterwards the King's physician, visited Pavia in 1532, in company with Monsr. de Velly the French King's ambassador, purposely to "see and view the places where the French King was taken; which places" he says, "bee so defect and devastate, that they do represent rather war and battaill at this time present, then at any time passed."

The following was the Note by which the News of the Victory was announced by Margaret archduchess of Savoy, the aunt of Charles the Fifth, to the English Ambassador at her Court.

Monsr. L'Ambassadeur

Nous avons ce matin, ung peu avant notre disner, receu les meillieurs nouvelles du monde d'Ytalie, assavoir comment il a pleu a Dieu donner a l'Armee de l'Empereur victorie de ses ennemys, et que le Roy de France est prisonnier, xiiij M. de ses gens tuez a la bataille, et tout le surplus deffaict et prins sans quil en soit nulz eschappez. Et vous cuydant icelles communiquer a vous envoie en vostre logis duquel escits

naguieres party pour malvies comme l'on nous a dit, ou nous cuydions aussi aller, mais ces nouvelles nous en ont retarde pour ce jour. Et combien que presupposons desia en soies averty neantnien si bons en avons nous bien voullu escripre ces deux motz, Et demain que nous trouverons aud' Malines vous dirons le surplus vous avertissant que nonobstant que deux gentilhommes l'ung de Monsr. l'Archiduc mon neveur, et l'autre du Duc de Milan soient passez en diligence en Angleterre pour en avertir le Roy. Si en avons nous aussi escript a noz ambassadeurs pour en avertir le dit Sr. Roy et Monsr. le Legat. Etant[a] Monsr. l'Ambassadeur notre Sr. soit garde de vous. De Bruxelles ce vjc. de Mars M. V. xxiiij.

MARGUERITE.

Nous ne partirons jusques apres demein d'icy affin de demein rendre graces et louanges a Dieu de ces bonnes nouvellis.

LETTER LXXXV.

Sir John Russell to King Henry the Eighth, on the Duke of Bourbon's disposition; with further particulars of the Emperor's Victory.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. VII. fol. 77. *Orig.*]

PLEASITH your Highnes to understande that I . . . . . from my lorde Cardinall wherin was

[a] *sc.* en attendant.

mentioned that your Highnes pleasure was that I shuld repaire unto the Duck of Bourbon, to th'entent that I shuld advertise your Hignes and his Grace how al the affaires here doth succede. I had ben here with the said Ducke longe since, but that the Ducke of Albany who pretended to go to Naples lay in my way, and his company sparckled thereaboutes, so that I could not passe. Nevertheless whan I herde that the battail was geven, I in dil . . . by post did repaire hither, thinking yt necessaire oone . . . be nere the saied Ducke at this tyme. I finde hym fermely prefixed to follow his interprise against the Frenche King, and never better willing; saying that if your Highnes woll, he woll sett the crowne of Fraunce on your hed, and that shortly; and that there may more be doon now with a hundreth thowsande crownes, for th' optaining of that, than before might have ben doon with five hundreth thowsande; by cause the King with the most part of all the nobles and captaynes of Fraunce be taken and slayne. Wherefore his desier is that yt wol plaise your Highnes to fornish payment for twelve thowsande fotemen and five hundreth men of Armes for too monnethes, which amounteth unto too hundreth thowsand crownes: and he hym self wol fornish the saied Army of payment . . one moneth at his being in Fraunce. With which company he woll repaire and passe to and thorough Dolfine . . . that by Scavoye and

Bourgoigne he can nor may carry none Artillery out of Italye. If your Highnes please that he marche in to Fraunce, he sayeth he wol trust to your Highnes and to no man elles, for if contributions be made to be paied by the Viceroy or others in those parties, he sayeth thei woll handle hym as thei did at his being in Provence. And rather than he wold take and suffre suche dishonor as he did there, he had lever be dede. Notwithstanding, he sayeth, he woll observe and kepe all suche promessis as he hath made to your Highnes and to the Emperor, to the uttermost of his powear. In case he wold pass by Bourgoigne, he wotteth not how to have artillery to follow and mayntaine his saied interprise, oneles your Highnes might so deale with th' Arscheduke that he wold be contented to let hym have artillery with monytion in a towne called Brisack, within the countie Ferrat, where he hath good store, if he graunte thereunto. Men must be levyed there for the conveyance of the same in to Bourgoigne. Wherefore Monsr. de Bourbon sayeth that good yt were your Highnes shuld demaunde of th'Emperor to have certaine pieces of the artillery here won of the Frenchemen, which is in good redines alredy; and so to passe with the same thorough Dolfine. Yf yt please your Highnes this be doon, he pretendith to have those men with hym which alredy hath betyn the Frenchemen, and rekening the same a greate advauntaige for they be greatly drede in

Fraunce, he desiereth to know where and to what parties your Highnes wol repaire with your Army, to th' entent that if case requere he may joyne with you; and thinkith that youre owne person shall doo muche in this affaire. Further Monsr. de Bourbon sayeth that in this case diligence wold be used; considering the late overthrow that the Frenchemen hath had here in Ytalye, and that also they in Fraunce cannot so shortly be provided to resiste again ther ennemys; for whan the too Armes be there, they shall have no laisor to make no provision, and also they be very evill provided of good capitaines.

The Emperor thought to have come and assailed the Frenche King his camp in the mornyng betymes, every of them having a white shert upon his harnoiz: whereof or yt wer midnight, the said Frenche king was advertised, and so camp[a] owt of his camp in to the playne filde and ordayned his battle the same night. So that wheere the Emperors thought to have set upon them being encamped, they founde them in array and goode ordre, marching towardes them, having wel for . . pieces of Artillery which did muche hurt. The French king layeth, now, fault in his Suyses, for that he hath . . [b] the battail; saying that they did not ther part as they shuld have don. His Launce-knightes fought very well against ther owne nation on th' Emperors side. Richarde de la Poole was ther

[a] came. [b] not?

capitaine, who was slayne there . . . also fewe of them scaped. Besides this of xiiij^{c}. men of Armes whiche he had there, ther escaped not past iiij . [a] but wer taken and slayne. Yt is sayed here that ther was slayne in the felde twelve thowsande men, besides divers that werr drowned in the Tyzyn fleing, which be founde dayly, and of greate nomber. There was taken prisoners ten thowsande men, and the most part of them wer men of werr; and the other rascall, [b] to whome Monsr. de Bourbon hath gevyn passportes. And hath bounde the gentilmen, and the capitaines, by ther othes, that they shall make no werr nor bere harnoiz in Fraunce against no man this twelve monnethes; and the other men of werr for five monnethes; and the residue for thre monnethes. And as for the greate personages that be taken, yt is agreed betwene Monsr. de Bourbon, the Viceroy, and the Marques of Piscara, that none of them shalbe as yet put to no raunsome, nor until they know further of th' Emperors pleasure and your Highnes in that behalf. Of th' Emperors part there was not lost past xvC. men, or nere there aboutes. They geve Monsr. de Bourbon a greate praise, and sayeth that he did very mannely the same day. And that he was one of the causers that the saied battail was wonne; for if he had not ben, there had ben no battail gevyn, but a treuse taken which shuld not have

[a] iiij^{xx} ? [b] common people.

ben nether honorable nor proffitable to th' Emperor, to your Highnes, nor to hym.

The saied Duke sayeth that now is the tyme, and that shortly your Highnes may if you accomplish the saied dukes demaunde before rehersed, optayne all your right and inheritaunce which the Frenche king hath; and never so wel as now. He sayeth that he declareth not this for the recouvery of his owne there, but considerith well that your Highnes may now have by peace some part of your right, and dowteth not but by the same peace he shalbe restored unto his. This notwithstanding, he thinketh yt best, seing that yt so may be, to take and ynjoye aswell all as some. And this offre that he maketh he sayeth it is onely to do your Highnes service and to helpe you to recouver your right in accomplisshing al suche promesses as he hath made unto your Highnes beforetyme.

This hath ben as greate a Victory as hath ben sene this manny yeres; for of all the nobles of Fraunce be scaped no more but mons^r. D'Alazon, and but a fewe Frenche men scaped besides them that werr within Myllan. The Spaniardes after the battail wonne pursuyd and chased the Frenchemen almost a hundreth myles, killing and slaying them without mersi.

I wold have writtin unto your Highnes or this tyme, but I tarry S^r. Gregorys[a] goyng, who doth optayne a sauf conduct to passe . . thorough

[a] Sir Gregory Casalis.

Fraunce on post with the Popes imbassadour, wherefore he shall the shortlyer be there. Notwithstanding for the more . . . [a] I do send a post unto your Highnes with the duplicate of these my said Lettres who goyth by Alemaignie, for fere lest S[r]. Gregoris sauf conduit shall not serve hym. I doo send your Highnes herein closed the names of the greate personages with other capitaines that be . . and slayne as fer as is knowen yet. And thus God preserve yo[r]. Highnes, and send your Highenes good life and long. Writtin at Millan the xi[th] day of merche

your humble seibgiet and servant

J. RUSSELL.

LETTER LXXXVI.

Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey, with the News of the French King's imprisonment at Pizzigitone; The Duke of Albany's motions; &c.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. VII. fol. 83. *Orig.*]

PLEASE it your Grace, these ten dayes and ten nightes I have lyen in a contynuall fevir at the mercy of God. The same is nowe decreassyd, and the phesitions do put me in firme hope of my lif; but I ame so over throwen and in feblyd, that thoughe I shall by the helpe of God recovre my helthe, yet I shall never

[a] surety?

be able to ryde up and downe as I have done in tyme past. In consideracion wherof, in moost humble & lowly maner I desire your Grace to obtayne licence of the Kinges Highnesse for me to reatourne home after soo long travayles & paynes by me sustaynyd in outward parties; which I wolde not refuse also now to do, if it were to me possible.

The Frenche king is conductyd into the Castel of Pizigatone, comyttyd to the custodie of the Capitayne Alarcon a Spanyard, a verraye sadde man. He hathe with hym for the savegard of the said king two hundrethe men of armys and oon thowsand and . . iijC. fotemen Spaniardes.

The duke of Albany goethe up & done, no man can tell whither. He drawithe towardes the Port of Civita Vech wherby it apperithe that he wull stele awaye by see into Province y . . . naye. Richard de la Pole as I understond was slayne at the battayle. Other occurrantes at this tyme I have none wurthy of lettres. But, Jhesu preserve your Grace in long helthe & contynuall prosperitie.

Wrytyn at Venice the xijth daye of Marche. By your Graces humble and faythefull servaunt

RI. PACE.

LETTER LXXXVII.

John Clerk, bishop of Bath, to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the state of Italy as affected by the Battle of Pavia.

[MS. COTTON. VITELLIUS B. VII. fol. 84. *Orig.*]

*** The reader need hardly be informed that the Pope at this time was Clement the Seventh; who, previous to his taking the Papal Chair, had been known as the Cardinal de Medici. His Pontificate was throughout conducted by a feeble and vacillating policy. It was marked by two events not easily forgotten; the sacking of Rome, and the abolition of the papal authority in England.

* * * * * *

THE Venetians and Florentyns seyng them selves nowe in the discretion of the Imperialles, whome they have nott best intreatyd, be in a grett fear, and therfor they nott only arme them selfe, butt also hathe bein vehemently in hande withe the Pope that he shold doo in lyke maner, and have m . . . a description off grett and highe matters with his Holynes, as his Holynes shewid unto me . . . . to take no mannys ryght frome hyme, butt to mayntayn and defend ther own; and that iff the Imperialls wold demand any thyng off theym it myght boldlye be answeryd them, that they shold nothyng have. The effect is that the Pope, the Venetians, the Florentyns, the Duke off Ferrare, the Signoryes off Senys, Luke,[a] and Mantua, withe other mean powaris off Italye, shold make a Lygge[b] for the

[a] Lucca.

[b] League.

defence and libertys off Italye; wherin they rekyn that the Duke off Mylan wold att lenghe, when tyme shold be, gladly enter, who as they rekon is nowe, and so is lyke for yeres to contynewe, in no lesse captyvyte than the Frenche Kyng. Yt is rekonyd that amongst them, they shold make well ij thowsand spers, and xv thousand Swecis,[a] and as many moo footmen off Italions as shold be thowght necessarye; wherin ther cane as they say lake no nombyr, for to this purpose viz. for the liberation off Italye, wher as in any other occasion they may make on, in this occasion they shall make iij. In this discription it is dyvisyd, fyrst, as I sayd, to have the Duke off Mylan, who hathe in his handes the castell off Mylan and the castell of Cremona; whiche be the thynges off most importance in that Duchie. The Pope shold be contentyd to surrender unto hyme the Cites off Parma and Pleasance,[b] and have as moche pention or cense[c] for the same as he now hathe. The Duke of Ferrare shall have his investiture in Modina and Regio, and paye therfor in redye monye . . . . . ducattes; and it is ment that the Pope shold have the realme of Naplis, whiche dowghtles will easly no . . be obteynyd. Theys thynges be heir divisyd by the Frenche faction and the Venetians, and they have ben in hand withe the Pope very vehemently in this mater, shewyng hyme that this is the verye way whiche he shold

[a] Swisses. [b] Placentia. [c] public rate.

take, bothe for his honor, surtye, and the libertye off Italye, whiche elles shall be totallye in subjection off Spanyardes, being barbarose and ounresonabyll, and as odybyll peopyll unto this nation as any cane be.

At soche tyme as the Popis Holynes declaryd unto me this Dyvyse, I shewid His Holynes that I dyd nott dowght butt that off his great and highe wisdome, he dyd consyder ryght well that His Holynes was nott in any soche case that he shold nead to take onye soche waye for his surety, for seing that His Holynes had don nothyng but that myght be well justifyed, His Holynes should butt, *quantum ad se attinet, optime sperare de Cesare:* specially, that I knewe the Kynges Highnes wold nott suffre that his Holynes shold be in any maner off wise oncoragyd, as towchyng the Venetians. I sayd his Holynes knew well e nowghe they had offendyd; and ther offence was butt a monye mater, wherin his Holynes myght be a mean for theyme; and, percase they wold nott be ordyryd, I sayd good reason wold his Holynes shold forsake them. And as towchyng this Discription and Dyvyse a fore sayd, albe it it semyd nowe to have a fayr face, and a semblance off good successe, as the maters now stood; the Imperialles being so fare behynd hand withe ther armye, and havyng so lytyll att this present tyme for the mayntenance theroff; yet (I sayd) I dowghtyd nott butt that His Holynes did ryght well consydyr the manye fold inconveniences that might ensewe

therebye: for albe it by this ways peraventur the army in Lombardye shold be att a staye, and in some agonye and perplexite for a season, yett ther shold be no dowght butt that the Emperor and other Princes wold never geve upe the mater soo, butt wold shortlye nott onlye restore this army, butt so renew and enforce the same, with the presence off ther own parsons yff neid should be, that iij. soche powares as Italye is shold nott be abull to resist them: and percase they shold resist, yet wher as His Holynes hathe, to his grett lawde, hetherto sowght peace, rest, and qwietnes betwen Cristen princes, specially heir in Italye, this shold be the ways to make for a long season, mor cruell and universall warre than was ever seyn: so that the warres past shold nott be comparyd to the warres to come, for theys warres to come shold be universall off all Italye agaynst all the . . . besydes forthe, and fynally what shold chance it in Goddes hand, who being indifferent, (I sayd) th . . was no dowht what lykliod shold be for the . . . partye agaynst the lesse. I showid His Holynes allso that percase, agaynst all lykliod, the powares of Italye, withe the helpe off his Holynes, shold be able to kepe the Emperor owt off Italye; yett that shold be most for His Holynes is purpose, for His Holynes being excludyd frome the helpe and poge of other Princes, shold nott, a mongst theys selfe same powares off Italye, be in the best case; and therapon putt his Holynes

in remembrance howe the Venetians hathe in tymys past encrochyd upon the londis of the Churche, witholdynge from the same by force the Cites of Imola and Ravenna and other in Romania, the duchies off Ferrare, Modina, and Regio, the Bentivollis, Bononia, and heir bye the balions in Peruse, and in dyverse other Cites and Signoryes belongyng unto the Churche; ne the Churche was never habyll to subdewe them, butt was ever in contynewall busynes, inqwietnes, and warre, unto soche tyme as other Princes layd to ther handes, by Pope Alexander is days, Julii is, and synst: and shewyd His Holynes that the Pope off Rome was never lyke a Pope tyll he had the concurrence off other Princes, wheroff whan so mevyr His Holynes shold be totally pryvyd, I sayd, ther was no dowght butt that shortly after ther shold be fownd manye ryght mean powars in Italy that wold plume his fethers, and nott sett a grott[a] by hyme; specially the Venetians; off whom His Holynes owght off all men to be ware, for ther powar shold gretly incresse by this ways; and by that that is passyd in other Popis days, meñ may easlye see what they will attempe agayn whan they shall see ther tyme.

His Holynes sayd that he sawe the inconvenience that myght folowe by this ther Dyvise many maner off ways; and thankyd God who had putt hyme in mynd nott to folowe the same. And so styll His Holynes perseverthe in mynd to enter whatt L\gge[b]

[a] groat. [b] League.

so mever shalbe thowght best to the Kynges Highnes and the Emperore.

Notwithstondyng my thowght, His Holynes dyd declar unto me the Discription and Dyvyse a forsayd, to the intent I shold wryght unto your Grace what was proponyd, and wherunto His Holynes myght have consentyd to the impechement off your affayres; to the intent youe shold conne hyme the mor cause he so dyd nott. I thowght allso to advertysse your Grace heroff, to the intent that percase the Emperor nott nowe in this grett fortun and prosperyte know frome whens, after God, the sayd prosperyte and fortun commythe, and deall withe the Kynges Highnes in fulfyllyng his promesses acordynglye, your Grace shold knowe what is myndyd and intendyd heir in Italy and wherunto the Popis Holynes myght easlye be browght. Your Grace apon the Emperors unkynd demeanor myndyng the same, assuryng your Grace that in myn opinion ther is nothyng that staythe the Popis Holynes in the nott enteryng off this Lygge[a] off . . . butt onlye the hope and trust whiche he hathe in the Kynges Highnes to be mean that this Victory in every behalfe, concernyng the maters off Italye, shalbe moderatly usyd.

As for the maters off France, it shold seim that his Holynes rekonythe not gretly howe youe determyn them, it is trowghe that by way off dyvyse, His Holynes sayd unto me latlye, owt off purpose, theys wordes

[a] League.

exempli gra . . they . . . . *pro bono pacis* make the Frenche Kynges sone Kyng of France, and deputt hyme a portion as small as they wold: taking the rest as they cowd agree: so that by Hys Holynes meanyng, he wold have a Kyng in France styll, butt so plumyd that his cooportionars and other his neighburs myght lyve in rest by hyme withowt charge; and by this dyvisse Kyng Franceys shold end his myserabyll lyffe in captyvyte; the whiche thyng His Holynes spake butt by the waye off dyvysse, showyng hyme selfe off nothyng more desyros than that theys cruell warrs myght shortlye, by on means or other, take some good end.

I do comfort His Holynes styll, all that I cane, that the Emperor wilbe nowe more att his devotion than ever he was: and that the Kynges Highnes and your Grace wilbe mean that it so shalbe. I ame allso mean betwen the Imperialles and His Holynes that they shall make demonstration unto His Holynes acordynglye, shewyng them the jeopardys and inconvenientes that maye ensewe at this present tyme by ther contrary demeanor. And I doo nott dowght butt your Grace will make demonstration in this case unto the Popis Holynes, acordyng to his good mynd ever borne towardes youe, and to the faythe and trust he hathe ever had in youe, the whiche demonstration showid in soche tymys as theys be, cannott be forgottyn herafter.

The Archibishope off Capua is retornyd hether

agayn syns the conflict, and showid me that your Grace reputithe hyme a Frenche mane, and that that wold ye nott doo yff ye knewe how the Frenche men hathe evyll intreatyd hyme: and . . . hyme in France, nott in prisone, butt a huntyng . . . gaynst his will ij. monythis: whiche he saythe . . . a pastyme wherunto he was never accustomyd in the cloyster. Yff your Grace wold witsaffe to wryght iij. wordes to the sayd Archibishope shewyng hyme, whatt so mever hathe ben wrytyn, yowe doo take hyme for the Kynges faythfull servant and your lovare, your Grace shold gretlye comfort hyme. The Datarye and he maye doo all: and therfor it shalbe well don to entertayn hyme, for the Popis nuntio ther wrytythe styll manye mad maters: and of every word your Grace spekythe, makythe *tanquam ex musca elephantem.* Iff orators wold they myght apon lyke occasion fyll nowe and then papyr lefis: I for my part thynke it nott necessarye: and to saye the trowgh I have no grett occasion so to doo. The Popis Holynes was ons determynyd to have sent the Datary to the Emperore, and the Bishope off Worcettor to the Kynges Hyghnes, butt syns his mynd is changyd, and determynyd to send to neyther, unto soche tyme as his Holynes shalbe resolutlye determynyd what he wyll do apon every particulare poynt. Which thyng he saythe he cannott well doo, tyll he shall have word a gayn frome the Emperor; that don, he wyll send unto bothe resolutlye and perfectlye instructyd parsons. My lord off

Worcettor was on his jorney as fare as Bononye befor he was contremandyd. I have obtaynyd hyme lycens, att his desyre, to goo see the Kynges Highnes, your Grace, and his bishopriche,[a] in hope that he will doo as myche for me att his commyng unto your Grace: and so he goythe forthe in his jornaye fayr and softlye, and nott makyng speid, for he hathe no commission as yett.

The Duke of Albanye hathe ben evyll handelyd heir a mongst the Collonysys, who hathe had manye skyrmoshys withe hyme, and causyd hyme to flye frome place to place, and moche a doo he hathe had to scape; part off his men war drevyn hard to Rome gattes, and slayn ij.C. off them within a myll off the town, and many folowd and persewyd in to Rome hard to the Popis palace, and off them takyn prisonars within a stonys cast off the same palayce; wherat the Pope was very evyll discontentyd. And I assure your Grace, had it nott been, that the Pope hathe respect, by cause he is within the londis off the Churche by the Popis sufferance, and in a maner withe saffe conducte and promesse off saffe goynge and commyng as the Emperors men hathe, I thynke he had bein the Kynges Highnes prisoner this daye. Wherin I have sparyd no labors ne . . . . tion, ne other settyng forwardes as well to the Popis Holynes; showyng unto his Holynes that he sh . . . so gretlye pondyr the

[a] Jerome de Ghinucci had the temporalities of the See of Worcester granted to him Feb. 20th, 1523. He was deprived in 1534. Le Neve, Fasti Eccl. Angl. p. 298.

duke of Albanye, who nowe, . . . the maters off France being in dekaye, was nott be takyn but as an abject parson: as allso . . . the Colonysis offeryng them larg sommys off monye yff they delyverd hyme me. And I assure your Grace they have somwhatt vexid hyme and his men, butt the Pope thynkythe he cane doo no lesse than helpe to save the Duke for the cause a bowe sayd, by cause he maryd his kynswoman;[a] and so the sayd duke by the Popis meanys, hathe lycencyd his footmen and manye off his men off armys. . . . rest shall take shippyng att Civita Vetula her, and so in to France, yff the Emperors armye at Jean, beynge warnyd theroff, do nott stope hyme by the waye. The sayd Duke is bare off monye; he sent hether latly to borowe on C. ducattes off a freind off his, and sped nott. Thus owr lord be thankyd, the Kynges ennymys on every syde be punyshed: *a domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.*

At this present tyme I come frome the Pope, wher I lernyd nothyng butt that his Holynes shold have advise (howbeit off no certentye) that Madame the Frenche Kynges mother, is determynyd to goo her selfe to the Emperore; partlye to move, as mother, the more pyte in her sonnys calamyte; partlye by cause she thynkythe her selfe most best skyllyd to handyll and treatt this mater with the Emperor. His Holynes

[a] John Duke of Albany married Anne de la Tour, eldest daughter of John de la Tour Comte d'Auvergne. Her sister Madeleine de la Tour married Lorenzo de Medici, duke of Urbino.

sayd, that he thowght the mater had neid off other helpe, than off womens tearis. This the almyghty god preserve your Grace. Att Rome the [a] daye off Marche.

Post scripta.

At this present howir I have receyvyd your Grace is Lettres off the xxiiij off Februarii, concernyng particular maters off certayn prelattes of Scotlond, wherin I shall speke withe the Popis Holynes; and procure withe diligence, that they maye have ther full intent acordyng to your Grace is desyre. As towchyng the Bishope off Dunkell is mater, I have wrytyn unto your Grace theroff in my last Letters, and I ame a bowght to gett the fryar heir somwhatt off the Pope for your sake, that he may resigne the pention he hathe assignyd hyme apon the bishopriche off Dunkell.

Off the Archibishope of Saynct Andrews I have spokyn so moche evyll all redye, that I . . . go studye howe I maye nowe conveniently speke w . . . notwithstondyng I ame glade your Grace hathe recom . . . . hyme, for the Duke of Albanye latlye was demandyd . . on, whome he toke for his freind, what he wold do nowe as the World was thus turnyd; he answeryd that he wold in to France, wher he cowd nott lake an honorabyll interteynment in this grett scarcyte of nobyll men and grett capitans; and after that w . . demandyd a gayn what he wold doo iff that

[a] *The date of the month is left blank in the orig.* EDIT.

interteynment shold fayll hyme, as peraventure it myght; then the sayd duke sayd he wold in to Scotlond, wher he sayd he had freindes, and rekonyd the Archibishope off Saynct Andrews to be on off the cheiff. But it shold seim now that he makythe his rekonyng a mysse, and so I will showe the Pope; and I am sure his Holynes wilbe ryght well contentyd withall, and make soche demonstration in the sayd Archibishopis cause that he shall ryght well knowe that he farythe nothyng the wars[a] for the Kynges Highnes and your Grace is recommendation: so, that the sayd Archibishope shall have gretlye to esteim the same. The Bishope off Dunkell his servant is come; and I doo the best I cane to helpe and assist hyme in his masters causes, acordyng your Grace is commandment. I have allso receyvyd the Kynges Letters in recommendation off the Bishopriche of Murraye and the abbay off Paslaye. The Kynges letters for the Archibishope off Saynct Andrews I have not yett receyvyd, and, a mongst a grett nomber off Scotyshmen heir in the town, heir is non that hathe any commission frome the sayd Archibishope, but favorithe rather the Archibishope off Glasco his adversary.

This the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. At Rome the xix day of Marche

Your Grace is humbyll chapleyn and bedman,

JO. CLERK.

[a] worse.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

The Bishop of Bath to Cardinal Wolsey, upon his negociations with the Emperor's Ambassadors at Rome; Money paid to them; &c.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. VII. fol. 102. *Orig.*]

PLEASYTHE your Grace to understond that the xxviijth day of Marche I receyved your Grace is letters off the vjth off the same; and folowyng the tenor off your Grace is sayd letters, I have spokyn withe the Emperors Orator heir, and have showyd them off this new commission now made by the Kynges Highnes and your Grace for ther necessites, in the best and most ampill maner that I cowde; extendyng the Kynges benivolence and good mynd towardes them and the Emperors affayres heir in Italye, and what provision was made for them to have holpyn them in ther extremite. Wherin I assure your Grace they gretly rejoysyd, and rekonythe that whan ye shall have had knowlege off the successis in Lombardye (as att the tyme off the wrytyng off your sayd letters it semithe that yow had nott) yow will then make dowtlesse forth demonstration as the case shall reqwyr. Now that batayll is strykyn withe soche a glorioss and memora-

byll Victorye, specially apon theys your Grace is last letters, my thynkythe I cane doo no lesse than delyver them, as moche as in me shalbe, the kynges monye; and therfor I have apoyntyd them to take upe xxiii Mil. crowns heir off the marchantes in Rome that receyvyd the kynges monye; and that at soche pryce as the sayd orators shall agre them selfs withe the marchantes and they be stond to the losse, as, withe myche adoo, they be content so to doo. They shall have myche adoo to have it off the sayd marchantes, for the marchantes demand all ther letters off exchange whiche your Grace hathe reteynyd ther, and nott sent hether.

I have offyrd to bynd my selfe that the sayde letters shalbe sent hether agayn by a daye, or elles qwitances sufficient for the same; and I thynke my band shalbe acceptyd. Therfor it maye lyke your Grace to send hether agayn, withe the fyrst, all the sayd lettres off exchange for myn indempnite, or elles that qwitances may be mad by master Wyat acordyngly. The Kynges hole monye being heir in the handelyng of the Torkepliar[a] and Syr Jhon Rossell is xlvj Mil. crowns off the sonne and odde. Off this ther remaynythe styll ij Mil. and odde in syr Jhon Rosselles handes, who is nott heir, and I knowe well he hathe spent a grett part theroff; for he shewid me he hathe had no nother monye to spend. Ther is in Fermars handes, viij Mil. crowns; and in my Lord off Seynct Jhonis x. Mil.

[a] Turcuplar.

crowns; and in my handes ther is yett iij Mil. crowns; and on Mil. I desyryd your Grace myght be accomptyd unto me apon my dietts: for the other ij Mil. I sent you bylles, wherby they myght be recoverd off my father in Inglond. The whiche sommys to gether, with the xxiij Mil. crowns a for sayd, make upe the holl some off xlvj. Mil. and odde. Wherfor ther shalbe delyverd unto the Emperors agents heir, who have speciall commission frome the Viceroye to receyve it, fyrst the xxiij Mil. crowns that is heir in Rome in the marchantes handes, and the ij Mil. crowns part of the iij. Mil. that is in my handes, that makythe xxv. Mil. crowns of the sonne. I have writen to Master Secretarye to delyver them ther in Venyce xx Mil. crowns of the sonne more. So that they shall receyve in the holl xlv Mil crowns off the sonne. As I doo thynke your Grace reconythe that xlvj Mil. crowns off the sonne makythe l. Mil. other crowns, and so I have shewyd the Imperialls, that they shall receyve l. Mil. crowns after this maner, savyng on Mil. whiche I sayd unto them is, withe more, spent in sendyng the sayd monye upe; and I assure your Grace they be ryght well contentyd to take this in this maner; and gevithe the Kynges Highnes ryght harty thankes therfor. Your Grace wrytythe that we shold make them l. Mil. crowns, and as I do take the crown, so we shall; or att the lest wisse nyghe therunto. I thowght it best to kepe me within the bandes off my commission; for iff

ther shalbe ony fawt that ways, it maye sone be amendyd and so cowd it nott iff we shold exceid; besydes that the Emperors agentes be nott nowe in soche grett extremite thankyd be God, for this Lyge now latlye made betwen the Pope, the Kynges Highnes, the Emperor, and other. The Imperialles shall shortly receyve large sommys off monye, and albe it I have no perfect knowlege theroff, for theys maters war treatyd *ad partem*, and nott comprisyd in the articles expressly, for the mór honestye: yett by secreatt meanys, and many provabyll conjectors I do understand that the Pope and the Florentyns shal pay on C. Mil. ducattes, the Venetians on C. and l. Mil. ducattes, the duke off Ferrar on C. and l. Mil. ducattes, the Citeis and territoryes off Mantua, Luke,[a] Senys, Genua, Saluce, Monteferratt, att the lest on C. Mil. ducattes amongst them; and besydes this they have in sondry Citees in the duchie off Mylan, syns the Victorye, large sommys off monye, att the lest a iij or iiij score Mil. ducattes; and dayly ther comythe in more to them; whiche is CCCCC. Mil. ducattes and above, besyd the Emperors own monye, that syns the Victory hathe, and shalbe shortlye receyvyd. And for this, by cause ther necessite is nott nowe so grett, I stode in grett dowt whether it war best to delyver theym ony part off the Kynges monye or nott; but nowe after the receyt off your Grace sayd letters, I have resolvyd my selfe to lett

[a] Lucca.

them have it, partlye by cause my thynkythe it is gretlye aperteynyng to the Kynges honor that his Highnes shold kepe his promess; partly allso that theys nobyll and valiant capitans may have the better corage to do the Kyng servyce, percase his Highnes shall intend any farther interpryse, whiche saye opynlye that they will not take enterprise mor apon them, apon the Emperors promese onlye, but iff they have the Kynges Highnes promesse to the same. The Emperors armye for the most partye lyethe in the territoryes off Parma and Plesance;[a] and ther have etyn and distroyid syns the Victorye, as the Pope saythe, to the valew of CC. Mil. ducattes all redy, and iff they shold so long contynew, the sayd territoris shold be destroid for ever, as his Holynes saythe: and therfor his Holynes, supposyng that some reformation shold be herin, the Lygge[b] wons[c] made, hathe therfor callyd a pon the Imperialles for the accomplyshment theroff; and so the sayd Lygge[b] was concludyd betwen his Holynes, the Emperors, and the Kynges agentes, the fyrst daye off this monythe, accordyng unto soche articles as I doo nowe send unto your Grace; whiche doo nott in all wordes agree withe the articles concludyd, butt ther is no grett difference, specially in maters concernyng the Kyng, who is namyd as principall contrahent, mor for a mutuall reputation on every syde, then that other confederates, or elles his Highnes can take ony

[a] Placentia. [b] league. [c] once.

other grett particulare benefytt therby. The Kynges Highnes hathe an honerabyll part and memorye in the same Ligge [a] withowt charge, and therfor I dyd accept it, thowghe I have no commission; therfor your Grace maye fornyshe me theroff att your pleasure, for all the commissions hetherto sent be but *ad tractandum de pace et treuga cum* Rege Franciæ. There be allso many particular poyntes betwen the confederattes for the payment off monye, and for the maters of Italye, whiche ther expreslye war nott spokyn off, for the on off them wil nott have it knowyn what the other doithe, and therfor be treatyd with the particulars a parte; for the Emperors agentes shryvythe and shavithe theys Potentatis off Italye. Heir was many greatt crakes a whyll, butt nowe be low e nowghe. The Emperor shall recover dowtles nowe large sommys off monye, nott reconyng that that nowe he shall yerlye have off the Duchie of Mylan, the whiche thyngs in treatyng withe the Emperor in many matters may be browght in consideration, as I dowht nott butt your Grace dothe consider.

I was yesterdaye withe the Popis Holynes, and ther I had withe me the Scottyshe sollicitors in the maters wherin your Grace hathe wrytyn unto me in tymys past, and his Holynes gave them verye gratiose audience and very good resolution in all ther maters, de-

[a] league.

claryng unto them howe ferventlye the Kynges Highnes had wrytyn in thos maters, and how that for his sake they shold have the favors possibyll as towchyng the Bishope of Donkelme is matter. I am sure his solicitor dothe nowe wryght unto hyme, as towchyng the Archibushope off Seynt Andrews mater: the Popis Holynes is very harde in revokyng off the Bishope off Glasco is exemption, for whome the Kyng of Scottes, agaynst the Archibishope off Seynt Andrews hathe wrytyn very fervently to the Pope, as your Grace shall see, by the copy of the letter whiche I doo nowe send your Grace; besydes that the Scottyshmen heir saythe that the sayd Archibishope had misordyrd hyme selfe in a newe conspyracye agaynst the Kyng and the Qwen, and that makythe me staye my sewit to the Popis Holynes for hyme, tyll I heer more from your Grace. The Popis Holynes att this tyme willyd me to make his speciall recommendations unto your Grace, saying that all his trust is in yowe. Wherfor it may lyke your Grace to use styll some demonstration withe good wordes to his agent ther withe yowe, that it maye appeir that I have don my message. I assur your Grace that soche demonstrations withe good wordes spokyn by your Grace, ben to ther great comfort heir, and be ryght thankfully takyn. The Duke off Albanye toke shyppyng thi . . .[a] weike in to

[a] this last?

France wardes. This the Allmyghty preserve your Grace from Rome the vjth day off April.

Your Graces most humbyll servant
and chapleyn

JO. CLERK.

To my lord Legattis good Grace.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Sir John Russell to Cardinal Wolsey, concerning the French King, and the Emperor's other prisoners.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. VII. fol. 119. *Orig.*]

PLEASITHE your . . . . . .
Bourbon and the viceroy hath ben at Pischiketon where the Franche King is, for the sending forth of the . . . . and also to inlarge the Prince of Orrenge M^{r} S^{t} . . . . de Pry and the bisshop of Altheume for the space of . . . . monnethes, so that they in the meane season might make appoyntement for ther rannsomes: and that he the sa . . . . wold give liberte in like manner to the Countie S^{t}. Pol, Mr de Rochepott, and M^{r} D'Albeny, with others; whereunto the Frenche king answered that he in that matter wold write unto his mother, and that if she therewithall wer contented he

thereunto wold agre. But he said he wold not assure them of that. Upon this Mr. D'Albenny and Mr. de Ro . . . .[a] is goon in to Fraunce to porchase ther deliverance.

As toching the sending of the Frenche king in to Naples, whereof I in my former lettres have certified your Grace, although they wer there for that matter partly well . . dayes, yet therein is nothing doon, for sometymes the Viceroys advise was to kepe hym stil in Pischiketon, sometyme to bringe hym to Myllan, and sometyme to Na . . .[b] Wherewith the ducke of Bourbon was evel contented . . . . that he the said Duke cam his way and left the said Viceroy there.

I ensure your Grace that the Frenche king hath to muche his libertie, for that so manny messingers are suffred to come and goo betwene hym and his Mother; by reason whereof he is acertaigned of all there doyinges in Fraunce, and gevith his advise aswel as though he were there present. Further, the prisoners here be souffred to goo home paying ther raunsome. I have spoken with the Viceroy in that matter, who sayeth that he cannot doo other but that they that hath taken them must nedes deliver them for to have monney. Monsr. de Bourbon hath likewise spoken unto the said Viceroy diverse tymes concernyng that; and is not very wel contented with hym, aswel for suche sufferaunce as also for that he intreateth hym not wel,

[a] Rochepott. [b] Naples.

saying that he doth not use suche pacience . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Sir, they mervaile muche here that they have no worde from your Grace synse the Battaile was given: and it is fered here that the King wol not follow his interprise of Fraunce because the tyme is so ferr spent.

The Emperor hath sent to the duke of Bourbon iij or iiij tymes synse the battail was gevin. The said Ducke of Bourbon wold have or this tyme goon in to Spayne, & there to have fornisshed his marriage, saving onely that he is desierous to performe all suche promesses as he hath made to the King and th' Emperor in tymes past. Here he lyeth at greate cost and charge, for his Howse costith hym a hundreth crownes a day. And thus Jesus preserve your Grace in long lif and continuall prosperite. Writtin at Myllan the xjth day of May.

your humble servant

J. RUSSELL.

THE first news of the Victory of Pavia led Henry the Eighth to indulge a hope that an opportunity would now be afforded him of recovering some part of those territories in France which his ancestors had been possessed of. As late as May 14th, 1525, we find John Clerk bishop of Bath, the English minister at Rome, writing in the following terms to Wolsey:

"At the first audience now upon these your Grace's last Letters, after the Kings Highness's and also your Grace's most lowly and humble recommendations, the sum and effect of such declaration as in your Grace's name I made unto his Holyness is, first, how the Kings Highness now in no wise wold pretermit this great occasion, and that both the Emperor

and also His Highness were determined to invade France, for the recovery of their rights, and to remove the Kyng that nowe is, with all his succession, from the Inheritance of France, *wherewith it seemed that Almighty God had showed such great signs and occasions for the said French Kings demerits, that they might not neglect them without* ALMIGHTY GOD'S HIGH DISPLEASURE, as that thing whereby should ensue the long desired Peace, ever likely to endure betwen Cristian Prynces, to the extermination and total destruction of Christ's enemies, and exaltation of Christ's faith; declaring furthermore unto His Holyness that the Kings Highness and your Grace's desire was that His Holyness would vouchsafe to concur with you, and lay his helping hand unto so holy a purpose, to the intent it might be the more easily brought to pass; shewing on your Grace's behalf that yf His Holiness will set rest and peace between Christian Princes, according as every man thinketh he is bound to do of duty, his Holiness must now take this way; for by the French Kings restitution, were he never so well plumed, his ambition and insatiable wit, unto his Holiness not unknown, is soche, that doubtless upon some quarel or occasion immagined, if other should lack, he would never be in rest till he had recovered all again."

The Pope was solicited at least to join by money in the Invasion of France; but he resisted every entreaty. Francis, in the meantime, was unexpectedly carried prisoner first to Naples, and then to Spain; although he "used all the ways and policies he could devise to remain within the Duchy of Milan."[a]

Pace in a Letter to Wolsey from Venice, dated June the 14th. says, "The French King and the Vice Roy took shipping at Genna the xxxth. day of the last month, and sailed from thence to a place named Port Fyne distant from Genna thirty or forty miles, but, as I understand by sundry Letters they are both returned again near unto Genna where are lately arrived six French gallies voide,[b] which by the Vice Roy's commandment are furnished and armed with Spaniards: whereupon it is thought that the said French King shall be conveyed into Spain, and then to treat and conclude some appointment with the Emperor; nevertheless the said Emperors ambassador resident here hath shewed unto me that he hath word from Naples that the said French Kings lodging is prepared there. The truth hereof shall shortly appear. Some men say that the said French gallies are come for the defence of the Kings person against the Moors, of whom a strong army was discovered in the sea at his being at the said Port Fyne."[c]

[a] Pace to Wolsey, June 3d, 1525. MS. Cott. Vitell. B. VII. fol. 143.
[b] Empty.
[c] Pace to Wolsey, from Ven. 14th June. ut supr. fol. 156.

The Bishop of Bath, in a Letter to Wolsey from Rome, dated June 20th, shews that Francis, whatever was his dismay, assumed an air of something more than gaiety upon the journey. He says, "I wrote unto your Grace of the French Kings departure from Genna the ixth. of this present in to Spainwards, accompanied with six of his own gallies. Since that time ben other Letters come from Genna concerning his said departure, and some further particulars of his journey, viz. that he arrived at a place called Nissa the tenth day, and there tarried a fair wind the xith. and all the xiith. which xiith. day, at night, he departid thens with a right good wind, and by all conjectures taken upon the continuance of that wind he should be long or this time arrived in Spain. While he was at Nissa came unto him certain Knights of the Rhodes, and in the name of that Religion saluted him, and desired him to remember in what case the Religion stood in, and to be good unto the same. It should seem that he took upon him then like a Prince; and with as high and as glorious words as might become any great Prince he made unto them very large promise, not only of that he would do for the Religion himself, but also of that he would move and cause the Emperor to do. Unto whom he said he went for to redress, order, and conclude his own affairs, and willed the said Knights that in any wise they should send one with him, for he doubted not but he would set their matters at some good end with the Emperor. This the French Kings demeanor here with these Knights of Rhodes, semeth unto me no matter worthy to be written unto your Grace, were it not that the Pope's Holiness and divers of his Council did greatly tax and mark the said demeanor; saying that either the said French King is right well assured of the Emperor, or else he useth great presumption and temerity, being in captivity, to use himself after that manner."[a]

Pace says, "Please it your Grace, th'Emperors ambassador resident here hath advertised me that the French King about the xviith. day of the last month arrived to the port of Barcelona in Spain; and that the Vice Roy of Naples intended to retain him there till he had commission from the Emperor concerning the said French Kings landing, and that a great Parliament was assembled in those parties for that purpose."[b]

Francis was first placed in a castle in the Kingdom of Valencia, a preference which gave offence to the Castilians.

The captivity of Francis the First would, of itself, form an interesting Memoir; but it is sufficient for the present purpose to show that it soon excited alarm and jealousy in the mind of Henry the Eighth, who, finding the balance of the European states no longer preserved, gave up

[a] MS. Cotton, Vitell. B. VII. fol. 160.
[b] Letter to Wolsey, July 12th, Ibid. fol. 176 b.

his dreams of conquest, and at once assumed an air of friendship for the man whom he had before represented as *marked by the finger of the Almighty for his demerits.*

The following despatch from the Bishop of Bath to Wolsey, dated Rome, July the 12th, declares the CHANGE in another Interview with the Pope.

"After my most humble recommendations, it may please your Grace to understand that I have received your Letters of the 14th of June, and, taking master Gregory with me, went unto the Popes Holiness, and declared unto him the continue of your said Letters, as well of the King's displeasure taken with the Emperor for his unkind demeanor, as also of the towardness was in the King's Highness *to conclude with France such reasonable conditions as should be by them offered*, and that TO AS LARGE MANNER AS NEEDED; which I thought I might now boldly do, not needing to fear or doubt any thing in the Pope's Holiness, who hath now too far disclosed his own counsel to us to doubt ours; and I assure your Grace his Holiness was glad that the Kings Highness opinion and yours did agree with his and the wiser mens here; and said that your Grace had wisely and profoundly considered and pondered the state of the Affaires as they now stand." [a]

Henry the Eighth now became anxious to restore Francis; whose liberation will form the subject of the two succeeding Letters.

LETTER XC.

Dr. Taylor to Cardinal Wolsey. Peace concluded between the Emperor and Francis the First.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. IX. fol. 145. *Orig.*]

PLEASYTH yt your Grace to understande that sythe the departure of Master Thesaurer from hens the whiche was the xxth. daye of Januarii, hathe be no

[a] MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. VII fol. 175.

newys of certeynte. On Sonday last past wer commanded general processyons to be made through all the Cyte to praye God to send good tydyngs; for of long tyme my Lady Regent had no worde oute of Spayne from the Kyng: and, as yt was the comon reporte, all wayes and passages wer stopped that nó messenger shulld come into Fraunce. This daye I harde saye that ther was a messenger come out of Spayne; wherfore I went uppe to the Courte to have spoken with Madame, the which I coulld not doo by cause she had take a medycyne, and kepyth her chamber; and so hathe don syth Madame d'Alançon came home. Wherfore I went to the Chancellor, the whiche shewed me that in trothe ther was cóme oute of Spayne a servante of the Prynce of Orenge, the whiche ys come for the delyveraunce of the sayd Prynce. And he sayth that the Peace ys concluded betwyxt th'Emperour and the French Kynge, and that the Kyng shall mary the lady Elyen . . And allso sayth that Monsr. Memorancy[a] ys in the way commynge oute of Spayne; the which bryngeth with hym the trewth of all this matters, and in what maner they be concluded. Allso the sayd messenger brought a Letter to th'Emperours ambassadour here, Monsr. de Prat, the whiche hathe shewed his Letter to Madame. Thes things not withstandyng, the Chauncellor tollde me they gyve no credence to thes newys, for they have be often tymes dysceyved

[a] Montmorency.

by, gevyng lyght credence to newys that cam by estraungers. Yf they be trewe, the trust shortly to have confyrmacyon of them by theyr awne messengers. Howbeyt the Chauncellor bad me, yf I wolld wryte to your Grace, that I shold wryte this newes of his mouthe. After this I went to Monsr. Robertet the whiche confyrmed all things that Monsr. Chaunceller had tollde me: and ferthermore promysed me as sone as any certeynte of trouth ys come, I shall be the fyrst that shall have knowlege therof, for to shewe your Grace with dylygence the state of things. In the meane tyme I have in gret hast wryte this to your Grace tyll that we have tydyngs of more certeynte. Thus Jhesus preserve your Grace. From Lyons in hast the xxiij. of Januarii with the hande of your most bownden servaunte and poore bedeman.

(Signature gone.)

LETTER XCI.

Dr. Taylor to Cardinal Wolsey. The arrival of Francis the First at Bayonne. 1526.

[CALIG. D. IX. fol. 171. *Orig.*]

Pleas hyt your Grace to undyrstond that the xv day of March very late in the evyning by torch lyght

my Lady Regent com into Baiona and was receyvid with grete triumphe of gunshott. On the morow aftyr dyner I spake with hyr, and sche desyryd me to have paciens for ij or iij days, sche was in suche grete anxite for the sendyng forth of the Dolfyn and hys brodyr, and for grete desyre to see the Kyng hyr Son, that sche cowd attend to no odyr thyng. But sche assured me that as son[a] as the Kyng was cqmm, Mons[r] Joachyn schuld be dispeched yn to Englond. The xvij[th] day the Dolfyn and his brodyr war delyvered in to the hands of the Spaniards apon a brygge on the ryver callyd Handay, bytwix Fontraby and Seynt John de Luce, and by twyxt ij. and iij. of the clock the same day, the Kyng was receyved in to Baiona with muche schotte of ordinance. Withowt the towne, a quarter of a myle, I was accompanyd with the Chansler and many odyr spiritual men by the commaundment of my Lady, and ther a bode the commyng of the Kyng; and aftyr that the Chaunsler hadde saluted the Kynge, he schoyd to hym that I was the Orator of England; the Kyng toke me in his armys, whom I saluted in this maner: '*Christianissime Rex*, '*ex parte serenissimi Regis Angliæ, Defensoris Fidei*, '*Domini mei potentissimi, Ego congratulor tuæ Ma-* '*jestati in suum regnum salvo reditui: plura dicturus* '*loco et tempore magis oportunis.*' His Grace with very favorable countenans seyd, how he wold more at

[a] soon.

large speke with me, and he wold never forgete the goodnesse that he had founde in the Kyngs Hyghnes. At my next commyng to hys presens I schal make humble commendacions of your Grace behalf, for Monsr. Joachyn told me that whan he spake with hym by the way, he seyd he was so much bound unto your Grace that he wold honor yow as hys fadyr duryng hys lyff. And so seyd that the seyd Monsr. Joachyn schuld be in al hast dispeched in to England, the which schalbryng with hym all thyngs concernyng the Trety of Peace with ratificacion of the Kyng's oone hande; and also al the secrete of the Peace concluded with th'Emperor. At whos commyng I schol wryte more at large yf any thyng worth the wrytyng comm to my knowlege. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace. From Baiona in haste the xviij. day of March 1526. Wth th'ande of your most bound servant and beydman.

. . . . .

. . . . .

LETTER XCII.

Dr. Taylor to Cardinal Wolsey. Reports an Audience from Francis the First.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. IX. fol. 172. *Orig.*]

PLEASYTH yt your Grace that after I had closed

my Letters to send to your Grace and the currer was redy to sett forthwarde, the King charged Monsr. Vaulx that he shulld send forthe no man tyll that His Grace had spoke with me, and commaundyd Monsr. Joachin to bring me to His Grace at iij. of the clocke at aftre none on Passion Sonday; at which hower I gave attendaunce. His Grace was so long occupyed in the Counsell that yt was passed v. of the clocke or that I coullde speke with hym. His mule was broght forthe to ryde on solace. Notwithstanding he sent Monsr. Vaulx for me; and at my commyng in to the chamber to hym His Grace embrased me in his armes, and excused hym sellf that he had made me to tarry so longe, and toke me by the hand and led me to a wyndowe. And brefly I shewed His Grace that I had commaund from my sovereyne Lorde the Kinge of England, with cordyall commendatyons, to salute him at his arryvall, and to rejoyse and congratulate his retorne into his Reallme with lyberte: of the whiche the Kinge my Lorde was as glad of as any Prynce christned, with all kynd oblations of amytie, amore, and benevolence, wherin he myght do to him pleasure. I added also that I had in commaundment to put his Grace in mynd, and to exhorte him not only to confirme, approve, and ratyfye all suche acts and dedys as wer done in his absence with Madame Lady Regent his mother, butt allso that he in his owne persone, according to the contracte made, shulld with in

certeyn tyme reiterate and renewe them accordingly. His Grace wolld suffer me to speke no more, but sayd, 'Monsr. Ambassadour, I knowe well the good mynd 'of my kinde brother of England, whom, after God, I 'thanke of my liberte. He hathe done at this tyme in 'my captivite suche an acte by the whiche he hathe 'gatte eternel memory of glorye, and bownden me 'ever, and all myne, to do him servyce. And I ad- 'sure youe that after I had seyne hym and spoke with 'him, yf he ben no gentylman nor I nother, he was so 'affectionate that I wollde have doone him servyce. 'And howebeyt that ther was war moved betwixt us, 'I know right well yt was but cerymonyusly doon; 'for yf he wolld have warred in dede, I shulld have 'fellt yt grevouslyer and much sorer. And yt wolld 'never sinke in . . my hart but that he loved me.' Then said Monsr. Joachin, 'Sir I doo knowe right 'well that often tymes when in his counsell yt was 'communed and disputed to make war, his Grace 'ever defended your parte. And I assure your Grace 'that yf his Highnes had ben borne of the same modre 'that ye wer, he coulld not more studiously nor more 'affectionatly study forth youre lyberte and honorable 'deliverance then he hath done. I am a necessary 'wytnes, for I have harde his Grace often tymes speke 'more then I coulld other thinke or desier.' The King answered and said, He knewe all thes things well, trusting that yf God gave them towe lyf they

shuld have a great saying with all Princes Christiane; and he trusted well that the Kings Grace shulld be a gretter eyde and conforte to the redemption of his sonnes, the whiche wer gone in to Spayne, then ever his sonnes shulld have to have redymed him, whom his kinde brother of England had redemed to liberte. And as touching all suche things as wer concluded in his absence with Madame his moder, he wyll not only approve, ratyfye, and confyrme, but with the blode of his body mayntene. 'And yf my brother of England 'can study any other way to make them strong, I wyll 'surely performe yt.'

After this I made humble commendations and congratulations in your Grace's name. The Kinge answered that he knewe well all this goodnes cam of your Grace, and of the good disposition of his kind broder, and, that while he lyved he wolld honor your Grace, and take youe for his father; and that he wolld doo no thing with oute the advyce and counsell of the Kings Highnes and your Grace, as ye shulld fullyer knowe by Monsr. Joachin, whiche shulld be depeched within thes ij. dayes to your Grace, with all things, bothe secrets, and allso concerning this Amyte betwixt th'Emperour and him. He tollde to us certeyne secrets the whiche th'Emperour spake to hym at his departing, and desiered me and Monsr. Joachin we shullde never speke them, wherfore I do not put them in wryting, for Monsr. Jochin wyll shewe

them by mothe to your Grace when he commyth to your presence. I beseche your Grace I may here from your Grace what I shall doo here. Yt ys said the Kinge will kepe his Ester at Burdeux. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace. From Bayona the xix^th^. daye of Marche.

This mornyng Monsr. Joachin hathe shewed to me ij. Lettres of the Kings one[a] hand, one to the King's Highnes, one other to your Grace;[b] the which he sendyth by this Post, for he shall make hastyer spede then Monsr. Joachin maye, and yt wyll be ij. dayes or that he maye be depeched here.

By your most bownden servaunt and dayly bedeman, the xix^th^. day of March 1526.

JO. TAYLOR, *Archid. Buck^e^.*

To my Lord Cardinalls Grace.

LETTER XCIII.

Dr. Taylor to Cardinal Wolsey. The Affairs of Italy. Francis the First has a fall from his horse.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. IX. fol. 219. *Orig.*]

PLEASYTH yt your Grace that syth the departing

[a] own.

[b] The burnt remains of that to the Cardinal are preserved in the same Volume with the present letter, fol. 174. It finishes "vous pryant avoyr de votre coste ceste ferme credence en moy, et que vous me trouverez tousjours votre byen bon amy

"FRANCOYS."

of Mr. Cheyny from hens, the whiche was the xxvijth. of Maii, lyttell occasion hathe be to wryte to your Grace. The vth. daye of Junii Monsr. President of Roan cam to the Kinge at Angulisme, the whiche was very welcom to the Kinge, and allso to my Lady. And towe dayes contynually he was other wyth the Kinge or wyth my Lady, and made suche good relacyon of the Kings Highnes and of your Grace that they coulld not be sacyate to talke with hym. The viijth. daye I went to the Court, the Kinge caused me to stande at his chaire bolle while he dyned; and at after dynner toke me to the wyndowe, and with affectionate hart and a joyouse countenaunce tollde me that the President had broght hym suche tydings from his brother the Kinge our Master and your Grace that hym semed perfytely to known bothe your kynde harts, and pleyn assurement of all suche things as had ben spoke of and reported of the King's Highnes and your Grace; and said he wolld doo his trewe devour and intent to maynteyn and encrease and strenght this begone Amyte. For he sayd havyng trewe and feythfull amyte with the Kings Grace he caryd not for all the worlld. And he trusted that by Moretts commyng thider your Grace schulld be well assured of his mynde and intent. Every man that commyth from those partyes make so hyghe and good report of the Kyngs Highnes and your Grace that yt ys gret confort and joye to me to here yt.

Ther ys one called Villars, the whiche was prisoner in the Tower. He hathe bothe to the Kinge, to Madame, and to the great Chauncellor in every place schewyth of the gracyouse goodnes and lyberalyte of the Kinge and highe wysedome of your Grace, and in lykewyse the Hostages, the whiche be com her, that all the worlld ys affectionat nowe and laudynge of his felycyte, that yt hathe suche a Kynge and such counsell.

I assure your Grace ther hathe ben with me Cecilians, Neapolytanes, Allmaynes, and Italyanes, all praying to God that the Kinge of Yngland myght [be] theyr Lorde and Kynge. And doughtless yf ther wer as . . . . . cofers as hathe ben,[a] the Kings Highnes myght facy . . . be Lorde of all the Worllde. And nowe here ys published by the Popes Nuntius that the King our master hath given towerds the succors of Hungary ayenst the Turke a C. scuts, so that every man *merito* gyvyth to his Grace . . . name *Defensor Fidei*, to the gret reproche of th'Emperor, the whiche sufferyth his owne syster to be in so gret daunger of captyvyte of the Turks.

Here yt ys sayde that the Viceroye shall shortly depart ayen in to Spayne, *non bene contentus*. The last tyme I spake wythe the Kinge he had spoken with the Viceroy, the whiche presented a successor for Monsr. de Pratto. And allso one other gentylman

[a] An allusion probably to the time of Henry the Seventh. Edit.

brought lettres from th'Emperor in the favor of one the whiche was the Duke Burbon's servand: for the fame was in th'Emperours Court that . . was taken in Fraunce goyng into Italy. The Kinge tolld he gave this answer, the Viceroye being present, that he had knowelege of such ones passage into Italy, wherfore he made streyght commandement that in no wyse he shulld be suffred to passe; yet one, for luker of money lett him passe. The Kinge hathe caused him to be hanged: and said to the messenger that cam from th'Emperour, 'Ye maye well perceyve what I wolld 'have don with hym yf he had ben take, that have 'caused hym to be hanged that lett hym escape.' And sayd ferther to the messenger, 'Segnior, I thinke ye 'have some other gretter errand, than that suche a 'man shulld for the cause of so vyle a person take 'suche labors.' *Hæc ex ore Regis.* The Popy's Nuntius tollde me that the Kinge said to hym that he was sory that he had suffred Don Hugo de Monchado to pass into Italy.

Ferthermore the ixth. daye of this Moneth, the Kinge goinge a hunting, his hors fell, and, couytyng[a] in the fall to hellpe and save him selff, fell on his lefte arme, the whiche, betwixt th'elbowe and the wriste, the small bone was put out of joynt, and the wryst of the hand allso, the whiche was great parell of brekyng of his arme. But thanked be God, no daunger of lym

[a] desiring.

nor lyffe. The Fisicians kepe well the ague from His Grace, that ther ys no daunger.

The xjth. daye I visited His Grace and spake with him, and he shewed me his hand gretly swollne and inflate. A lyttell he myght move his fingers, and trustyth within x. or xii. dayes to be well to labor: he slepyth and etyth well withoute any ache or trouble; blessed be Jhesu; who preserve your Grace in good hellth and prosperyte. From Angoulesme the xijth. of Junij. By your chappleyn and most bounden bedeman

JO. TAYLOR,
Arch. of Buck^{a}.

To my Lorde Cardinal's Grace.

LETTER XCIV.

Louis II^{d}. of Hungary to King Henry the Eighth, entreating assistance against the forces of Solyman the Magnificent.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 86. *Orig.*]

*** The fate of Hungary was long foreseen by Louis the Second. There are no less than three Letters in the Cottonian Collection from him to Henry the Eighth, all in Latin, in different years, announcing the threatened condition in which he stood. In one, dated from Buda, June 30th, 1521, he says, "Hostes quotidie appropinquant, et procul-

dubio antequam hæ Literæ ad Majestatem vestram pervenerint nos et regna nostra invadent. Iterum atque iterum Majestatem vestram rogamus laboranti Reipublicæ Christianæ, et consilio et auxilio, dum licet succurrat." [a]

In the second, dated from Posen, Feb. 5th, 1524, he states that the Turk finding his empire safe toward the east, had now determined to enlarge it on the side of Europe, and meditated the reduction of Hungary. "Regnum nostrum Hungariæ primo statim Vere eo animo ac proposito invadere et aggredi statuit, ut tot annorum prædis, vastitate, cædibus, vexatum, attritum, exhaustum, jugo suo teterrimo (quod Deus omen avertat) possit subigere. *Sæpe sumus apud* SEDEM APOSTOLICAM *et* PRINCIPES CHRISTIANOS *testati*, QUANTULÆ SINT NOSTRÆ VIRES *cum* TURCARUM *collatæ* POTENTIA."—"Hortamur itaque Majestatem vestram, et rogamus per omnipotentis Dei nomen, per Christi Redemptoris nostri charitatem, per vinculum Religionis ac Fidei communis, per privatas quoque necessitudines, per omnia jura quæ Reges Regibus, Amicos Amicis jungunt et conciliant, ne patiatur (quod in se est) Regnum Hungariæ, non postremum nec otiosum Christianitatis membrum, ab hoc corpore divelli." [b]

The third Letter is that which is here laid entire before the reader; written two months and eight days before the battle of Mohatz.

LUDOVICUS Dei gratia Rex Hungariæ et Bohemiæ, &c. serenissimo et potentissimo Principi Domino Henrico Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, &c. Principi Hiberniæ, &c. Amico nostro charissimo salutem et prosperorum successuum amorisque assiduum incrementum.

Serenissime Princeps, amice noster charissime, cum Majestas vestra ex creberrimis litteris nostris jam satis clare intellexerit, Turcæ contra nos et hoc regnum nostrum adventum, pericula Christianitati universæ, si quid nobis (quod Deus avertat) contigerit, imminentia. Supervacaneum esse arbitramur ea rursus recensere, quæ creberrime Majestati vestræ significavi-

[a] MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. 1. fol. 80. [b] Ibid. fol. 74.

mus, Cæsar ipse Turcarum[a] abest jam a Nandor Alba itinere trium aut quattuor dierum; nihil moratur; veniet contra nos et hoc regnum nostrum cum omni sua potentia; cui quam simus impares, propter vires nostras plurimum imminutas, Majestas vestra et ex literis et ex Oratoribus nostris jampridem intellexit. Omnis spes nostra sita est in auxilio Majestatis vestræ et aliorum Principum Christianorum, sed potissimum in vestra Majestate; quod nisi affuerit, citissime actum de nobis et hoc regno nostro esse putamus. Quare rogamus et obtestamur Majestatem vestram per immortalem Deum, per salutem reipublicæ Christianæ, velit sine mora nobis, hoc præsenti periculo laborantibus, subsidio et auxilio quo potest subvenire, et quidem citra omnem moram, nam frustra nobis postea auxilium feretur, dum hostis potentia in viscera hujus regni nostri penetraverit. Vestram Majestatem felicissimam valere optamus. Datum Budæ, xxj. mensis Junii, Anno domini M.D.XXVj. regnorum nostrorum prædictorum anno decimo.

LUDOVICUS REX,

manu propria.

THE event of the battle is told in the succeeding Letter, in German; for the Translation of which the Editor is indebted to his friend Charles König, Esq.

[a] *In the MS. it is* Tucarum.

LETTER XCV.

Ferdinand of Austria to Herman Archbishop of Cologne. The news of the Battle of Mohatz.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. F. I. fol. 17. *Orig.*]

Dem hochwirdigen Fursten Hern Herman Ertz bischofen zu Colen des Heiligen Romischen Reichs durch Italien Ertz cantzler vnd Churfursten Hertzogen zu Westvalen vnd Engern Vnserm besundern lieben freundt.

HOCHWIRDIGER Churfurst vnnser lieb vnd sonndere freuntchafft zuvor, besonnder lieber Freundt. Wir fuegen Eur lieb. mit beswertem vnnd betruebten gemüet zuvernemen das Vnns gestern zu vnnser ankunfft hieher von vnnser Niderostereichischen Regierung aine post zuekhumben ist in der wir vernümen haben, das vnnsers heiligen Christenlichen glaubens Erb veindt der Türanisch Turckh vnnsern lieben Hern vnd Swa-

Translation.

Unto the right reverend Prince my Lord Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, Lord High Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire through Italy, Elector and Duke of Westphalia and Engern, Our singular good friend.

Right reverend Elector, in the most friendly wise we greet you well, signifying unto you, with sad and heavy heart, that yesterday at our arrival here, a post has reached us from our Lower Austrian dominions, by which we have received communication that the hereditary enemy of our holy Christian faith, the Tyrant Turk, is

gern den Künig zu Hungern mit seiner Khüniglichen wirde Kriegsvolckh geslagen vnd abgesygt haben solle. Wie aber solche Slacht ergangen, wo sein Khünigelich wirde in derselben belieben[a] vnnd hinkommen ist, das moegen wir noch nit wissen, seyen aber allstündt ainer andern post, Got wolle das Sypesser[b] dan wie obgemelt seye, gewertig. Solichs zaigen wir E. l.[c] auss sonnderen hohem vertrawen an, der zuversicht e. l. vnd ander Christenliche hertzen, werde des mit gedachter Küniglichen wirde, vnnd vnns ain sonnder freuntlichs mitleiden haben, vnnd sich solche des Thurckhen that vnd absiegung der gestalt behertzigen lassen wo derselb Turckh solchen seinen erlangten Sig, noch disen herbst vnnd winter, oder auf den Frueling weiter nach zugeen, vnnd auf Hungern vnd vnnsere Nideroster-reichische Lande, mit der that zu handeln vndersteen würde, das E. l. neben andern Churfursten fursten vnd Stenden des Reichs fur sich selbs, gedachte Khünigkliche wirde vnd vnns mit statlicher hilff nit verlassen

Translation.

bruited to have beaten and conquered our dear Lord and brother-in-law the King of Hungary with his royal army. But of the place where such battle was fought, and likewise touching the fate of the King's Grace we have not yet received advertisement. Howbeit we look hourly forward to other tidings: God grant they shall be gladder than the first. This we signify to your good Grace from singular high confidence, trusting you and other Christian hearts will have especial friendly compassion with his said Grace and us, and will mind the Turk's exploit and victory so far, that, if the said Turk should further pursue his victorious career this autumn or winter, or in the spring, and boldly invade our Lower Austrian dominions, your good Grace, together with other Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, will not forsake the

[a] geblieben. [b] sie besser. [c] Euer Liebden.

werde, wie wir, so es die nott die wir doch e. l. nit verguñen, erfordern solte, nit weniger mit gutem Hertzen vnd gemuet, nach vnserm vermügen thun wolten. Dan E. l. Erre und wolfart zusehen vnd die in bestendigen wesen zuerhalten, ist Vnns ain sonndere freud. Geben zu Innsprugg am Sibennden tag Septembris Anno D. 1526to.

Post scripta haben Wir ain andere Post entphangen, die laider Innenhalt, das die Slacht auf den neun vnd zwentzigsten tag Augustj negstvergangen gewisslichen beschehen, vnd die Kunigkliche wirde von Hungern darinnen verloren, alsó, das man noch nit wissen mag, ob dieselbig in leben oder umbkomen ist. Darumb das Kunigreich Hungern sambt Vnseren Niderosterrichischen Landen, in hoechster geferlicheit steet, was treffenlichen grossen schreckhen nun solches der Christenheit pringen soll, das hat E. l. als des verstendig zuermessen. Bitten daruf dieselbig zum hechsten, sy wollen obgemelter massen bedacht sein Vnns mit hilff

Translation.

King's Grace and ourselves, but grant their princely succour. The like are ourselves in a readiness, with good heart and mind to do according to the best of our power, if necessity, as we no wise wish, should require it. For to behold your good Grace's honour and weal, and to preserve the same in constant integrity, is a right particular pleasure to Us. Given at Inspruck, on the 7th day Septembris, A. D. 1526to.

Postscripta. We have received another despatch, the which we grieve to say containeth, that the Battle chanced on the nine and twentieth of August last passed, and was lost by his Grace of Hungary; neither is it yet known if the King's Grace is still alive or killed. Wherefore the realm of Hungary, together with our Austrian dominions are brought into great jeopardy; and what terrour and ruin will fall to Christendom thereby, your good Grace's wisdom doth right well understand. We therefore

vnd sonderlich etlichen Puchsen maistern, vns dieselbigen auf vnnser ferer erfordern zuzuschicken, nit zuerlassen.

E. lieb. besonder frundt,

FERDINAND'

Ferenberg.

Translation.

beseech you most seriously to call this to mind, and in likewise not omit to send Us the succour aforesaid, and specially divers arquebuss-masters, such as may from time to time be required.

By your good Grace's loving friend,

FERDINAND'

Ferenberg.

THE contest on the part of the King of Hungary was a rash one. A contemporary Account of the Battle preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts,[a] states that twenty-five thousand men were opposed to two hundred and eighty thousand. "Copiæ Regis tam equitum quam peditum, computatis auxiliis et stipendiariis, ad summum XXV. milia erant. Ex adverso Princeps Turcorum tam equitum quam peditum, computatis navalibus militibus, habebat ducenta et octoginta milia." The 27th and 28th of August were passed in skirmishing. The battle itself was on the 29th. The flower of the Hungarian nobility and nearly the whole army were slain. The following was the List of some of the more eminent persons killed in it which was sent to the Emperor Charles the Fifth; it follows Ferdinand's Letter in the Cottonian Manuscript.

Item the Bishop of Warden.
—— The Bishop of Fünffkirchen.
—— The Bishop of Rabb.
—— The Affi Tancosth.
—— Sarthani Dunbrosth.
—— Corlatzki.
—— Setzi Thanwisth.
—— Onsorg Ferentzs.
—— Tairzon Niclaus.

[a] Nero B. XI. fol. 217.

Item Sigethe.
—— Mychwell.
—— Cedmemsky.
—— The Bishop of Greyn (saved [a]).

Lord Herbert says that Louis fled from the field, "till, by the fall of his horse, having his leg engaged, he was drowned in less than a span deep of water and mud." [b] He was the last male of the family of Jagerol.

Fumee's History of the Troubles of Hungarie, translated from the French by R. C. fol. Lond. 1600, contains a very minute account of the battle of Mohatz, the death of Louis, and the infatuation of friar Paul Tomoree, who incited the Hungarians to seek their ruin.

The Hungarian force was divided into two battalions, in the second of which was the King. Upon the right hand of the King was the archbishop of Strigonium, and the bishop of Zagrabia. Next to the bishop of Zagrabia, were the bishops of Varadine, the five Churches, and of Sirmia. Those of Javarin and Vacchia were upon the left hand. Behind the Chancellor were placed the bishops of Nitria and Bosnia, and the provost of Albe; after whom were the secretaries and the grooms of the chamber. On the left side of the King, and near unto his person, there was a place void for the Count Palatine, who, although he had the gout, sate upon his horse and did his duty valiantly.

The place wherein the Hungarian army was seated and ranged in battle was distant from Mohatz one mile, and from the Danube half a mile, having near to it a long and large plain which was not any thing annoyed with wood, bushes, hills, or water; but only upon the left hand toward the Danube there was a muddy marsh overgrown with rushes, within which, afterward, many men lost their lives. Before the army, afar off, was a little hill which was of great length and in form of a theatre, behind which Solyman was encamped. At the foot of this hill there was a little village with a church, named Feulduuar, and in that village was planted the artillery of the enemy, with many souldiers, especially janizaries, who, on this side the houses of the village, took up a large space of ground by reason of their long and thick troops: among these, as after was known, was Solyman.

The first encounter was not greatly annoying to the enemy, although more of their numbers were slain than of the Hungarians, insomuch that being hard pressed by the Christians the Turks retired; but whether from the force and courage of the Hungarians, or as a manœuvre, is uncertain. It was now declared to the King that the Turks had turned their backs, and that the victory was his, "whereupon," says the

[a] "Ist darvon kommen." *Orig.*

[b] Hist. Hen. VIII. p. 201.

Historian, " the King advanced forward in hap-hazard: but when they came to the place where the first charge was given, there might you have seen many bodies of the Hungars dispersed over all the field:" " and then the King was seen no more in the rank where he was; whether it was that he passed beyond the first ranks which were before him, or whether he was forced from the danger by those who were behind him, for both the one and the other might well be. Some said, that having gone beyond the ranks which were near him, he thrust himself into the front of the battle, where he valiantly fought with the enemy: but neither dare I affirm it, nor altogether deny it. For my part I know this for truth, that he was not found in that place, neither in the rank wherein he was at the beginning after the cannon of the enemy began to play, and when those of the left wing of the vanguard were seen to fly. At the same instant was missing the archbishop of Strigonium, who was side by side by the King, and also certain others who were by his Majesty." This last sentence, the Historian assures us, is from " the words of Broderic chancellor of Hungary, who was present at the battle."

" The violence of the fight endured at the most but an hour and a half, and many were swallowed up and smothered within the marsh which has been mentioned; the body of the King (who was said to have ended his days in that place) was afterward found in a great whirle or rift of earth, above Mohatz, half a mile on this side a little village called Czelie; the which meadow was then overflowed more than it was wont to be with the Danube; in that place he was stifled with his horse under the water, being armed as he was at the battle."

The day after the battle, fifteen hundred persons who had been taken prisoners, among whom were the flower of the Hungarian nobility, were ordered by Solyman to be formed into a circle, and beheaded.

With the Dispute between Ferdinand of Austria and John Zapol Sepuze, for the succession to the Crown of Hungary, upon the death of Louis, the Reader has been made acquainted in the former Series. Much relating to this struggle will be found among the Letters in the Cottonian Collection, but it is not possible to refer more particularly to them here.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.


00032607

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018